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(For complete translated texts of Koryak myths see category 116, pp. 125-326.)

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All the tales about Big-Raven belong to the cycle of raven myths which are popular on the American as well as on the Asiatic shores of the North Pacific Ocean. But while the Ku'rkil of the Chukchee, and the Raven of the North American Indians, play a part only in their mythology, particularly in the myths relating to the creation of the world, and have no connection with religious observances, Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) plays an important part in the religious observances of the Koryak. Steller calls the Kamchadal Ku'tka "the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being."[1] Like the heroes of the other raven myths, Big-Raven of the Koryak appears merely as the transformer of the world. Everything in the world had existed before he appeared. His creative activity consisted in revealing things heretofore concealed, and turning some things into others; and, since everything in nature is regarded by the Koryak as animated, he only changed the form of the animated substance. Some things he brought down ready made to our earth from the Supreme Being in heaven. Big-Raven appears as the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak; but at the same time he is a powerful shaman and a supernatural being. His name figures in all incantations. These are either prayers addressed to him, or, in cases of treating the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his own children, the patient personifying one of Big-Raven's children. His presence is presupposed in pronouncing the incantation, and sick people are treated by means of his name. In the same manner he is supposed to be present at every shamanistic ceremony. When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations, they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter a reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!" I had no opportunity to witness personally any sacrificial offering to Big-Raven; but at the fawn festival[2] which is now observed only by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains, the antlers piled up during the festival constitute a sacrifice to Big-Raven.

The name Tenanto'mwan,[3] but not his other two names, is always used in incantations, as will be seen later on from the texts which I succeeded in recording. His wife appears under one name only, Miti'.

In some of the myths we meet, together with Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu), who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven (va'lvɛ, "raven;" or Valva'mtila'n,[4] "Raven-Man") as a representative of birds

[1] Steller, p. 253. But on p. 255 he says, "If it is at all permissible to speak of any kind of a god, we do not find any description of his nature, faculties, or deeds, though there is a name for him, in the Kamchadal language. They, the Kamchadals, call him Dütschtschitsch." This is evidently the Supreme Being of the Kamchadal, corresponding to the supreme benevolent deity of the Koryak. Unfortunately, Steller does not give any further information about that deity. At the present time the Kamchadal call the Christian God by the name Duste'qčič.

[2] See Chapter V, The Fawn Festival.

[3] Chukchee, Ti'nento'mgin.

[4] The ending-la'n means "man."

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of that species, — a droll and contemptible personage, who feeds on dog carcasses and excrement, and has nothing in common with the cult. The Koryak do not consider it a sin to kill a raven. The raven, nevertheless, plays some part in their cosmogony. He swallowed the sun,[1] and Big-Raven's daughter got it out from his mouth, whereupon she killed him. This suggests the tale of the liberation of the sun told by the Indians of the North Pacific coast. In another tale [2] the raven and the sea-gull appear as shamans, bringing Eme'mqut, the son of Big-Raven, back to life several times, after he had been killed by an invincible giant who keeps his heart hidden in a box.

There are many contradictory accounts of the origin of Big-Raven. According to information given by a Koryak from Opu'ka, the Supreme Being was once sharpening his knife in heaven, and a piece of dust from the grindstone fell down to earth and turned into a man, and that man was Big-Raven. Many Koryak say that they do not know where Big-Raven came from, but that in olden times the people knew it. Others say that the Supreme Being created him, and sent him down to establish order on earth. According to one tale,[3] Big-Raven grew up all alone, having been left in the house by his father, Self-created (Tomwo'get), when quite a little boy. When he grew up, and commenced to go out hunting, he once happened to run up against a house in which a girl, Miti' by name, lived. She had been deserted when a little girl by her father, Twilight-Man (Gi'thiltla"n), and had grown up alone. Big-Raven married her, and the Koryak are their descendants.

Almost all of the recorded Koryak myths, with very few exceptions,[4] deal with the life, travels, adventures, and tricks of Big-Raven, his children, and other relatives. In this respect the Koryak mythology is very similar to the transformer myths of the Tlingit relating to the raven Yēlch [5] or Yētl.[6]

Struck with the ridiculous and disrespectful character of the tales about "Ku'tka" in Kamchadal mythology, Steller calls the Kamchadal "geborene Gotteslästerer,"[7] and considers such an attitude toward the gods an anomalous exception. But the myths of the civilized peoples of antiquity, as well as those of other primitive tribes that have been collected since, prove that in point of coarseness the crude imagination of the Kamchadal does not stand alone. Indecent tales are, nevertheless, especially characteristic of the inhabitants of both shores of the North Pacific; and their obscene character constitutes one of the points of resemblance between Koryak and American mythology.

Big-Raven and his wife Miti' play all sorts of indecent tricks just for their amusement. They turn their sexual organs into dogs and people, and then set them back again in their places.[8] Miti' takes her anus and puts it in place

[1] See Tale 82. [2] See Tale 67. [3] Tale 20.
[4] Tales 27, 36, 44, 47, 97, 99. [5] Krause, pp. 253-282.
[6] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 311-328.
[7] Steller, p. 253. [8] Tales 7, 25, 31.

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of her vulva, and *vice versa*.[1] Miti′ prepares puddings out of her genitalia, and treats her husband to them. He enters her anus as though it were a house.[1] In another place, on the occasion of a famine, Big-Raven, as well as every member of his family, — except his sons, who are absent with the reindeer, — following Big-Raven's order, each puts his head into his own anus, and, feeding there on excrement, imagines that he is wandering along a river-valley, and procuring fish.[2] Big-Raven appears, besides, as a being of a very low order of intelligence. Not only Miti′, who is represented as being brighter than he, succeeds in deceiving him, and excels him in cunning inventions, but even mice, foxes, and other animals cheat him, make fun of him, and deride him. It goes without saying, that all these funny, foolish, or indecent adventures of Big-Raven and other members of his family, go hand in hand with supernatural deeds and transformations. Although reflecting the Koryak view of nature and deities, they serve mainly as a source of amusement. The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of those tales as their protectors.

According to some information, Big-Raven's wife Miti′, whose name is also connected with incantations, was thrown down from heaven upon earth by her father, The-Master-on-High[3] (Gičho′l-etı′nvıla^{e}n). Big-Raven found her in the wilderness, and, knowing nothing of her origin, kept constantly taunting her, saying that she had no kin. Another informer told me that Miti′ fell down upon the tundra from the clouds during a thunder-storm.

According to a third tradition, related to me by an Opu′ka Koryak, Miti′ was the daughter of Crab (Toko′yoto), the master of the sea. This name designates a large sea-crab found in the Pacific Ocean. From what follows, it might seem that it is the spider-crab. Miti′ remained on the shore after high water. Big-Raven found her and took her for his wife. According to Tale 116, Big-Raven found in a water-hole a White-Whale woman, Miti′ by name, whom he took for his wife. Another tradition relates that Miti′ had been married to the master of the sea, and that Big-Raven took her away from him; that Miti′'s older daughters were not Big-Raven's children, but Crab's. This last tale is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 1) made by a Maritime Koryak, Ka′mmake from the Opu′ka River. Ka′mmake

Fig. 1. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and the Spider-Crab.

[1] Tale 25. [2] Tale 42. [3] See p. 24.

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explained his drawing as follows: Big-Raven maltreated his daughters Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'i-ña'ut, giving them nothing to eat or to drink. They got angry with him, and decided to run away to their real father, Crab (Toko'yoto), the master of the sea. They made a wooden whale, launched it upon the sea, and boarded it. Then it turned into a real whale. They started off in it. Their brother Eme'mqut, who happened to be on a rocky island hunting ducks, saw the whale, and aimed at it; but the elder sister shouted to him from within, and bow and arrows fell out of his hands. The sisters came to Crab, and remained with him.[1] Ka'mmake thus described the crab drawn by him: "He has ten legs, each as long as a man's arm, and without bones. He has no trunk. His head is round, like a man's, and has a beak like that of a ptarmigan. He lives on the bottom of the sea."

According to one tale, Big-Raven had seven sons and five daughters; but the following names only are mentioned: the sons, Eme'mqut,[2] Big-Light (Qeskin·a'qu), One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), Bear's-Ear (Ka'iñi-vi'lu), and in northern Kamchatka also Kinhičin·a'xu and Dawn-coming-out (Tña'nto); and the daughters, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Čan·a'i-ña'ut, Ičí'me-ñe'ut, and in northern Kamchatka An·a'rukča-ña'ut.[3] Of all the children, Eme'mqut and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut play the most important part in the myths. Both of them are shamans. These two are constantly engaged in a struggle with the cannibal kalau.[4] Their travels are full of adventures. They conquer their powerful rivals, ascend to heaven, or descend to the underground world. As told in Tale 9, Eme'mqut, together with his father, once put on a raven's coat, and turned into a raven; in Tales 8 and 136 Eme'mqut himself turned into a raven; and in Tale 82 Yiñe'a-ñe'ut set free the sun, which had been swallowed by Raven-Man. One of the stars of the Pleiades bears her name.

Among the other relatives of Big-Raven and Miti' are mentioned his brother Qaitaka'lăn (Brother); his sister A'na (also pronounced Ha'na or Ça'na[5]), who is also called Xe'llu; Great-Cold (Mai'ñi-ča'ičan or Čaičan·a'qu), her husband; and Miti''s brother, Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtila'n). Besides the children of Big-Raven, an important part is played in the myths by Illa' and Kilu', the son and daughter of Ça'na. White-Whale-Woman (Yi'yi or Yi'yi-ñe'ut) is mentioned as Kilu''s younger sister.[6]

Krasheninnikoff[7] cites the following Kamchadal names, which apparently

[1] A story referring to a wooden whale is told also in Tale 69.

[2] I have been unable to find out the meaning of this name.

[3] The ending — ña'ut or — ña'ut means "woman."

[4] That is, malevolent beings. Kalau is the plural of kala (see p. 27).

[5] Steller (p. 281) mentions "Chana" as the Kamchadal name of the constellation the Great Bear.

[6] Tale 50. Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 638) says that "the Chukchee tradition knows also the name of Miti' or Miti-ñe (ñe being abbreviated from ña'ut, 'woman'), the Raven's wife," and that the Koryak of northern Kamchatka call Miti''s brother White-Whale-Man (Sisi'nn), and the other sons of Qaikinn·a'qu and Miti', Kigigitin·a'ku, Ketha'nu, Krti'nynaku, Va'la, and Milpu'tuyan. Steller calls Big-Raven's wife Chi'chi (p. 254), and his son Deuchkat (p. 264).

[7] Krascheninnikoff, II, pp. 100-107.

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776 773 have been distorted by defective recording, Ku'tkhu, his wife Ilkxum, his sister Xu'tltzič, his sons Si'mskalin and Ti'zil-Ku'tkhu, and his daughter Si'duku. Ti'zil-Ku'tkhu married Si'duku. They had a son Amle'i, and a daughter, who also intermarried, and the Kamchadal are their descendants. Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff give the meaning of any of the above-mentioned names.

One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), the son of Big-Raven, is a strong man or a hero who remains sitting at one place, and does nothing but paint his belly. It is only after urgent entreaties on the part of his father that he starts out in search of his brothers, who were killed by cannibal monsters.

The tales relating to Big-Raven's life and creative activity are just as contradictory as those which treat of his appearance on earth. According to some of them, not only the earth and all phenomena of nature, but animals and even men, had existed before him. It is frequently told in the tales that Big-Raven lived alone, and that there were no other people; but then it turns out that, far away from his habitation, other people live. For instance, in Tale 6 it is said that his neighbors were Chukchee, with whom he was engaged in warfare. It is apparently meant by this that there were no Koryak as yet, and in that sense Big-Raven was alone. In other tales, Reindeer people from a distance are mentioned. This must be understood to mean that there were no Maritime people, who, by the way, are clearly distinguished from the Reindeer people; Big-Raven himself being always described as a Maritime settler.

According to a tradition recorded by myself in the Itkana settlement, there were no other people when Big-Grandfather appeared on earth. Real men appeared later on, or were the descendants of his children; while Big-Grandfather lived with animals, birds, and phenomena of nature as though they were human beings. He used to pay them visits, and received them at his house. According to other traditions, however, Big-Raven created mankind, reindeer, and other animals. As has been said before, however, this creative activity entirely excludes the conception of calling new objects or beings into existence, but simply means the change of things from one form into another, and the bringing to light of hitherto hidden objects. For instance, according to some tales, Big-Raven pulls out the post to which dogs are tied, and herds of domestic reindeer come out of the ground: in other tales he brings reindeer from the Supreme Being in heaven, or makes wooden reindeer and endows them with life. Big-Raven introduced order on earth. He taught people how to catch sea-animals and fish; he gave them the drum and the fire-drill; he gave them protection from evil spirits, and incantations against diseases; but he also introduced death among mankind.

It is unknown whither Big-Raven disappeared. He bade his descendants burn their dead; but he ordered that after death his own body should be placed in a separate house, which should be closed up. This house and Big-Raven himself were turned into stone after his death.

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According to other traditions, Big-Raven wandered away from the Koryak country, no one knows where. The same is related in the Kamchadal traditions; but, according to the latter, Raven (Kutq) went away from the Kamchadal to the Koryak and Chukchee. Some say that Big-Raven departed because he was displeased with men, since they ceased to heed his advice: others say that once, after having procured a whale, he arranged the whale festival, but the whale could not be induced to start off.[1]

Traces of Big-Raven's former places of abode are shown in several localities. On the Taigonos Peninsula it is said that he lived on a sea-cliff, not far from the village of Middle Itkana (Osgi'nčo). Before leaving the Koryak country, Big-Raven turned his house, his skin boat, and his storage-house into stone. The Koryak say that all these things have retained their previous forms. The stone plug for the hole in the roof of the porch[2] is still lying on top of the house. Big-Raven had some iron under his skin boat; but the Koryak are unable to lift the boat in order to get it, and therefore use the imported Russian iron. He also thrust his grindstone into the rock, where it forms a thick layer of slate. Since the rock is disintegrating, the Koryak manage to get pieces of grindstone, and make whetstones out of them. Stone hatchets and knives that are occasionally found in the bank which is being washed away, and that are simply remnants of ancient Koryak settlements, are considered by the Koryak to be Big-Raven's implements.

In the village of Kamenskoye (Vai'kenan) the Koryak told me of traces of Big-Raven's footsteps, and of those of his reindeer, upon a ridge along the left bank of the Penshina River. The Alutora Koryak say that Big-Raven's petrified house is in Baron Korff's Bay.

Big-Raven lived in an underground house, like the Maritime Koryak; but he had a herd of reindeer at the same time, and his sons used to roam about with it just as the Reindeer Koryak do. Such a method of living may be found at present among the Koryak of northern Kamchatka and Alutora. Tales describing this mode of life seem to reconcile the antagonism between the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak which may be noticed in some tales, in which the Maritime Koryak are always given the preference. Thus, for example, in Tales 7 and 59 Eme'mqut represents the Maritime Koryak, while Envious-One (Nıpai'vatıčıın) represents the Reindeer people; and the wife of the former excels the wife of the latter in beauty and in shamanistic art.

The Supreme Being. — Though occupying the most important place in the religious life of the Koryak, the conception of the Supreme Being is vague. It is quite materialistic, although some names of this deity, translated into a civilized language, suggest abstract ideas. Nothing is known of his origin or

[1] The same is told in Tale 20 about Creator's (Tenanto'mwan) and Mitï's fathers (see Chapter V, The Whale Festival).

[2] See p. 14, Footnote 4.

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his world-creating activity, except that he sent Big-Raven down to our earth to establish order; but he is the personification of the vital principle in nature taken in its entirety. On the other hand, he is an anthropomorphic being, — an old man living in a settlement in heaven, and having a wife and children. He is a benevolent being, well disposed toward men, but displaying little activity. The course of events takes place under his supervision. If he wills, he can give abundance and plenty, or put an end to prosperity, and send a visitation of famine and other calamities upon mankind; but he seldom makes use of his power to do evil to men.

The Supreme Being is known under the following names: Na'ĭñŋen (Universe, World, Outer-One); Ina'hıtela"n or Ǧına'gıtela"n (Supervisor); Yaqhı'čăm or Caqhĭ'čăm (Something-Existing), called by the Paren people Vahı'čăm by those of Kamenskoye Vahı'tăm, or by the Reindeer Koryak Vahı'yŋın (Existence, also Strength); Ǧı'čhola"n (The-One-on-High); Ǧıčho'l-etı'nvila"n (The-Master-on-High) or simply E'tın (Master); Tăa'ırgın (Dawn). Some identify the sun with him. In Tale 113 we meet with the name Kihi'gila"n (Thunder-Man) for the Supreme Being.

The Chukchee call Existence Va'ırgin (from the verb tıtva'rkin, "I exist," "I am"). It should be noted here that Mr. Bogoras[1] considers this word, not as the name of an individual deity, but as that applied to the entire class of benevolent spirits. In the same manner the Asiatic Eskimo use the word Kıya'ŋaŋak (from kıyaŋakuña, "I exist," "I am"). Mr. Bogoras states that the name Va'ırgin is used in some cases even with reference to evil spirits; but the Koryak among whom I collected information identified this name with the other names of the Supreme Being. It is probable that previously the Koryak may also have applied this name to a class of beings. It is also possible that all names now applied by them to one deity may have formerly been applied to various beings or phenomena of nature, and that, owing to their intercourse with the Russians, a monotheistic tendency of uniting all names of the various deities into one may have developed; and, indeed, I used to notice such a tendency, and wondered at it. Once a Cossack was trying to persuade a Maritime Koryak to embrace the Orthodox faith. "Why should I be baptized?" the latter replied evasively, pointing upward with his hand. "We all have one God, anyway." On the other hand, Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala"n) figures as the son of the Supreme Being under his various names. This idea appears equally clear in the tales and in my notes. It does not seem likely that this identification of the father of Cloud-Man with one single supreme being, known under many different names, should be due to Russian monotheistic influence. I recollect one case in which a Koryak identified the dawn with the Supreme Being. It was in spring, in the camp

[1] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 587.

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of the chief[1] of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. One morning, as soon as dawn was visible in the east, he called the herdsmen who were sleeping near our tent, and, pointing to the east, said, "The-One-on-High has woke up: it is time for us to get up too." Such occasional expressions lead to a much better insight into the ideas of primitive man about cosmogony than questions, which are usually put in such a way that they necessarily suggest the reply.

What are the relations of the people to this deity? They are based rather on a sense of gratitude and the desire to secure his good-will than on fear. Gratitude is expressed in the offering of sacrifices; but the latter are also offered in advance to secure future prosperity, or as atonement for transgressions of taboos.

All thoughts of the Koryak are concentrated upon the procuring of food, the hunting of sea and land animals, picking berries and roots, and the safe-keeping of the herds. All these things are in abundance as long as The-One-on-High looks down upon earth; but no sooner does he turn away than disorder reigns. In Tale 9 Big-Raven[2] becomes unsuccessful in his hunt when Universe (Ña'iñmen) has gone to sleep. Failure to offer customary sacrifices may also lead to disaster. In Tale 111 young Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), the husband of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, fails to sacrifice reindeer to Supervisor's (Ina'hitela'n) son Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n), as is customary to do at a wedding; and in consequence Supervisor pushes Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to the very edge of the hearth, owing to which she is roasted by the fire, and wastes away. Of course, it must be understood here that it is her soul which was close to the fire, for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut herself was not at the edge of the hearth at all.

The notions as to the direct interference of the Supreme Being with worldly affairs are very confused. Men seem to be left to their own resources in their struggle with evil spirits, diseases, and death: they appeal for help to Big-Raven, to protecting spirits, and to amulets.

The abode of the Supreme Being is identified with the world beyond the clouds, the sky, "the heaven village" inhabited by the people of the sky (I'ye-nimyi'sa'n, "inhabitants of the heaven village"), who possess reindeer, and resemble the people our world, of the earth.

The wife of the Supreme Being is called Supervisor-Woman (Lap-ña'ut, literally "the woman who looks or supervises").[3] In Tale 9 she is called Rain-Woman or Dampness-Woman (I'leña or I'le-ñe'ut). According to other notes collected by me, the sea itself figures as the wife of The-One-on-High, and her name is Sea-Woman (A'nqa-ña'ut).

[1] That is, the chief elected by the natives, or appointed by the government, who is responsible for the payment of tribute to the Russian Government.

[2] See Tale 114.

1 [The Supreme Being. See category 776, pp. 23-27 -- Analyst]

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Besides his general function as supervisor of the course of things on earth, The-One-on-High is particularly concerned in birth. He sends the souls of the new-born into the wombs of their mothers. The souls (uyi'čit or uyi'rit) are hung up in the house of the deity on posts and beams. The duration of the earthly life of each soul is marked beforehand on thongs tied to them. A long strap indicates longevity; a short one, the early death of the child to be born. After death the human soul returns to The-One-on-High, who after some time sends it into a relative of its former owner, to be re-born. A drawing (Fig. 40) made by the Koryak Yulta of the village of Kamenskoye serves to illustrate the tale in which is described how the souls are hanging in the deity's house.

Two children of the Supreme Being are mentioned by name, — his son Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala'n) or Cloud-Maker (Ta"yañ), and his daughter Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Cloud-Man figures as the protector of young couples. Young men beat the drum, and appeal to him to turn to them the "mind" or heart of the girl, and *vice versa*. On the right side of a picture drawn by the above-mentioned Koryak (see Fig. 41) a girl is represented beating the drum in order to attract to herself the heart of a young man. The sounds of the drum reach the ears of Cloud-Man, who draws a line connecting the affections of the two young people. In one tale[1] Fog-Man beats the drum to attract the heart of Big-Raven's daughter. Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive the thought of marrying Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to her brother, and thus induces Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to flee to Fog-Man. For his mediation in love-matters Cloud-Man gets a sacrificial reindeer from the bridegroom after the marriage has taken place. In another tale[2] Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), after his marriage, fails to follow this custom, and his bride ails and wastes away until he does his duty toward Cloud-Man.

The Supreme Being plays no active part in mythology, at least not in the myths collected by me; but there are numerous tales relating to Cloud-Man's marriage with Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and to Cloud-Woman becoming Eme'mqut's wife. On such occasions, Big-Raven and his family ascend to heaven to visit with his divine father-in-law: and Cloud-Man, with his sister and other inhabitants of heaven, come down to Big-Raven's settlement to return his visit.

Only one tale[3] relating to The-Master-on-High, and containing coarse details, can be compared with the tales relating to Big-Raven. In order to cause rain on earth, Universe (Ñai'ñinen) attaches his wife's vulva to a drum, which he beats with his penis: and the liquid which is squirted out from the vulva falls down on earth as rain. In order to put an end to the incessant rain, Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut turn into ravens and fly up to heaven. They cause the deity and his wife to fall asleep, and carefully dry their privates

[1] Tale 66. [2] Tale 111. [3] Tale 9.

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by the fire. On awakening, Universe is no longer able to produce rain by beating the drum, and thus it clears up on earth. It is interesting to note that this tale is told in order to put an end to rain or to a snow-storm. On the other hand, it must not be told in fine weather, lest it bring on rain or a storm. The tale was told to me during fine weather, and therefore a sacrifice to Universe had to be offered first. This was done by burning some fat, the idea being that the fire acts as an intermediary between the supplicant and Universe. However, I had to take upon myself the responsibility for the consequences.

MALEVOLENT BEINGS. — The first place among beings that are ill-disposed to mankind is occupied by the so-called kalau (*sing.* kala[1]), which correspond to the Chukchee kelet. The people of Paren call them also kalak or kamak; and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called ñe'nvetičăin or ñi'nvit. However, the above-mentioned names for evil spirits are known among all the Koryak. The Koryak conception of their dual nature finds expression in their myths, and appeared clearly in conversation. The kala appears sometimes as an invisible being that kills people by supernatural or rather invisible means; and sometimes he appears as a common cannibal. His material and spiritual features are often intermingled.

The relations between the kalau and the Supreme Being were described to me by an old man named Yulta, from the village of Kamenskoye. At one time the kalau lived with The-Master-on-High in the upper world; but he quarrelled with them, and sent them down to our world. This resembles somewhat the biblical conception of the fallen angels. The official chief of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula used to tell me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to people when they do wrong, just as the Czar sends his Cossacks against those that are disobedient. Others told me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to the people that they may die, and that he may create other people. A similar story was told to me about Big-Raven. He sends the kalau down to the people to give them a chance to test the power of their incantations against diseases and death, which he had bequeathed to them. In one tale[2] the dead ancestors send the kalau from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night, and thus disturbing the rest of the old people.

According to Koryak ideas, the kalau constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the kalau, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence.[3] Some live in the world under us. They have daytime

[1] See p. 21, Footnote 4. [2] Tale 43.

[3] It is interesting to note, that, while the idea of evil spirits dwelling in the upper world is foreign to the Koryak mind, the Yakut subdivide their evil spirits (Abasyla'r), which correspond to the kalau, into upper (that is, heavenly), middle (earthly), and lower (or those of the underground world).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

VII. — GENERAL VIEW OF NATURE.

My studies of the religious life of the Koryak, and of their conception of the universe, lead me to think that their conception of nature approaches very closely the ideas of the Indians of the North Pacific coast. At the same time, however, the religion and the myths of the Koryak contain traces of Asiatic and Eskimo ideas.

The Koryak view of nature is most primitive. Not only all visible objects, but also the phenomena of nature, are regarded as animate beings. This idea of a vital principle residing in objects and phenomena of nature is essentially an anthropomorphic idea.

Everything visible in nature, and everything imaginary, — that is, all that is within and beyond the limits of our visual powers (as, for example, animals, plants, stones, rivers, a wind, a fog, a cloud, luminaries, spirits, and deities), — are thought of as material beings of anthropomorphic form. These anthropomorphic ideas are often schematic and incomplete. This is shown by the wooden images of "guardians." Since the Koryak have attained quite a high degree of skill in carving figures true to nature, and in endowing them with motion and life, we cannot help being surprised at the crudeness of the outlines of their wooden representations of the "guardians." This apparently corresponds to their vague anthropomorphic notions of invisible objects as they present themselves to their mind.

On the other hand, this vagueness of their notions does not prevent them from being material. To their minds it is an undoubted fact that objects and phenomena of nature conceal an anthropomorphic substance underneath their outer forms. At the period of the appearance of man on earth, — that is, at the time of Big-Raven, which corresponds to the mythological age of the Indians of the Pacific coast of America, — the transformation of animals and other objects into men was quite a natural occurrence. All objects appeared in two states. One corresponded to the exterior form of things, serving as a cover; and the other, to the interior, anthropomorphic form. Every object may turn into a human being by casting off its outer shell. The myths of both the Koryak and the Pacific coast Indians are full of such episodes. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the ermine, the mouse, the raven, and other animals, are described as taking off their skins and becoming men. In the same manner the Fog people come out of a dispersing fog,[1] and a cloud turns into a Cloud-Man. By casting off their hard exteriors, stone hammers turn into Stone-Hammer people, who go fishing.[2] Fishes, also, take on the form of human beings.

[1] Tale 94. [2] Tale 48.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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At that time, man also possessed the power of transforming himself. By putting on the skin of an animal, or by taking on the outward form of an object, he could assume its form. Big-Raven and Eme'mqut turned into ravens by putting on raven coats. Kílu', the niece of Big-Raven, put on a bear-skin and turned into a bear.[1] Eme'mqut put a dog's skin on his sister, and she became a dog.[2] Eme'mqut and his wives put on wide-brimmed spotted hats resembling the fly-agaric, and turned into those poisonous fungi.[3] The belief in the transformation of men into women after putting on woman's clothes, and *vice versa*, is closely related to this group of ideas.

The episodes of the mythological age must be interpreted in the light of this general anthropomorphic idea of nature. Thus Big-Raven associated with animals as though they were human; the Kamchadal Raven (Kutq) had intercourse with various kinds of inanimate objects to satisfy his lust;[4] and Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut married a fog, a cloud, a stick, a tree, birds, fishes, and other animals.[5]

When objects assume a human form, or *vice versa*, the incongruity of size in the two states does not seem to be noticed. The little ermine or mouse becomes a man; a spider turns into an old woman; and Big-Raven transforms himself, not only into a raven, but into a reindeer-hair.[6]

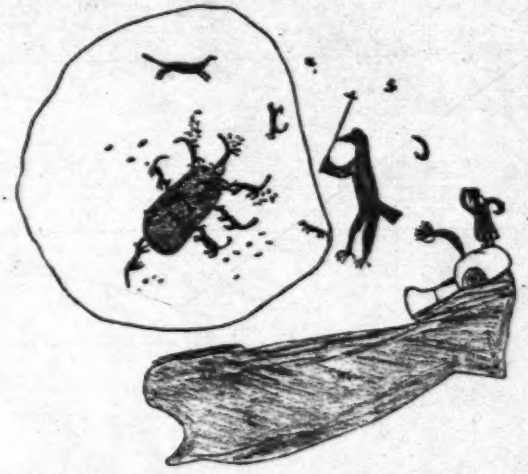

Fig. 57. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and Fox-Woman.

Although transformations, or the passing of objects from one state into another, are implicitly believed in, it seems to be held that some of the properties characteristic of one state frequently remain after the object has been transformed into another. The sketch shown in Fig. 57, made by the Koryak Ka'mmake, and representing Big-Raven (Quiknnn-a'qu) as a raven, retains some human features, as, for instance, the upright position and the arms.[7]

[1] Tale 5. [2] Tale 4. [3] Tale 12. [4] Steller, p. 263.
[5] See Tales 4, 33, 47, 53, 66, 81, 84, 86, 114. [6] Tale 9.
[7] This sketch illustrates Tale 96.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

In one story[1] a man whom Big-Raven made of a wiping-rag has the peculiarity of constantly moving his bowels; and in other tales[2] Raven-Man and also Big-Raven cannot break away from the raven's habit of devouring excrement. The Stone-Hammer people retain hard heads. Illa' knocks them against each other for his amusement.[3] One part of Tale 4 (p. 133) is particularly interesting in this respect. Looking for his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Eme'mqut finds her in the village of the Cloud people, and notices that the people there, their reindeer, their houses, the pots that are hanging over the hearth, expand and contract like clouds.

In the time of Big-Raven there was no sharp distinction between men, animals, and other objects; but what used to be the ordinary, visible state in his time, became invisible afterward. The nature of things remained the same; but the transformation of objects from one state into another ceased to be visible to men, just as the kalau became invisible to them. Only shamans — that is, people inspired by spirits — are able to see the kalau, and to observe the transformation of objects. They are also able to transform themselves by order of the spirits, or in accordance with their own wishes. There is still a living anthropomorphic essence concealed under the visible inanimate appearance of objects. Household utensils, implements, parts of the house, the chamber-vessel, and even excrement, have an existence of their own. All the household effects act as guardians of the family to which they belong. They may warn their masters of danger, and attack their enemies.[4] Even such things as the voice of an animal, sounds of the drum, and human speech, have an existence independent of that of the objects that produce them. In Tale 16, Big-Raven sells his daughter to a seal for a song, which the last named spits into the mouth of Big-Raven.

At the time of Big-Raven there existed a number of beings possessed of particular supernatural powers. The first place among these belongs to the Supreme Being, known under various names, — the tribal deity that supervises the universe.

Another supernatural personage is Big-Raven himself, who is considered as the first man, the ancestor of the race, who set the universe in order.

The kalau, which are endowed with peculiar powers, represent the evil principle of primitive dualism.

The Supreme Being, who is generally rather inactive, assists only on rare occasions in man's struggles with the kalau. Their attacks are warded off mainly with the help of the family and individual guardians and charms. It seems to me that the living, anthropomorphic essence of the guardians is sent to defend man, and that it attains its power by means of incantations connected with the name of the Creator, that is, of Big-Raven. In this lies mainly the importance of Big-Raven in the religious life of the Koryak. During his life,

[1] Tale 60. [2] Tales 42, 47. [3] Tale 48. [4] Tale 22.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RYu

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Big-Raven carried on an incessant struggle with the kalau, and now he guards his children against them.

There are some cases in which the invisible living essence of an object offers itself to a person as his guardian. Krasheninnikoff's tale of the "Stone Wife"[1] may be classed among such phenomena. It is told in this story, that a Koryak once picked up a stone in his pathway. The stone blew at him. He was frightened, threw it away, and afterward began to feel ill. Then he searched for the stone, took it along, and called it his wife. Thereupon he recovered from his illness.[2] Another example of objects offering themselves as guardians may be found in the worm amulet.[3] In this case an incantation cannot be dispensed with, since it increases the power of the guardian who has offered his services. It should be remarked, however, that an incantation does not possess unlimited power; and from time to time the Koryak must repeat the incantations over their guardians, that they may retain their power.

The shaman spirits (e'ñeñ[4]) belong to the class of guardians who offer their services to certain persons who afterwards become shamans; but they are more powerful than other guardians.

Side by side with the animate and anthropomorphic essence of objects and phenomena of nature in general, are also the owners or masters (e'tins) ruling over certain classes of things, or over large objects. The Supreme Being is also an owner, since he is the master of the upper world, of heaven. The master of the sea, and the master of the forest or river, are also called e'tins. Pičvu'čin, the god of hunting, who is common to the Koryak, the Kamchadal,[5] and the Chukchee,[6] is the master of wild reindeer and other wild animals.

As stated above, the idea of "masters" is to be regarded as a higher stage of religious consciousness as compared with that in which the animate essence of the object is identified or merged with the object itself. The idea of masters or owners is very little developed among the Koryak. It has attained a higher degree of development among the Chukchee, and a still higher one among the Yukaghir, who believe that not only classes of objects, but also individual objects, have masters, who are called Po'gil (*pl.* Pogi'lpe).

The identification of an object with its living essence is common to the Koryak and to the Indians of North America. The idea of "owners" is found

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

[2] The tornaq of the Eskimo are very much like this kind of guardian. They live in stones which roll down the hills during the thawing of the snow. These tornaq ask the Eskimo they meet with, whether they wish to take them as their guardians. In case of an affirmative reply, the stone rolls over, accompanying the man (Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591); but the tornaq is regarded as an owner (inua) residing in the stone. It is worthy of note here, that stones play the rôle of guardians also among the Indians. The Teton, a division of the Dakota, regard certain small stones as mysterious, and it is said that in former days a man had one as his helper or servant (Dorsey, Teton Folk-Lore, in American Anthropologist, Vol. II, 1889, p. 153).

[3] See p. 43.

[4] At present the Koryak also call the Christian God by the name e'ñeñ.

[5] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 102) calls it Pila'hčuč; and Steller (p. 266), Billukai or Billaket.

[6] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 628.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RV4 Koryak RV4

among the Eskimo, who call the owner inua, as well as among other Siberian tribes. In discussing the Koryak myths I shall point out the identity of the elements of which they are composed with episodes from Indian myths, and how insignificant is the number of Siberian-Asiatic ideas in the Koryak tales. I will not attempt to draw any positive conclusions in regard to their religious conceptions, but will offer here some comparative material to students better acquainted with Eskimo-Indian beliefs. I consider the concept that the kalau form a separate class of beings absolutely hostile to men, as due to the influence of the Asiatic dualistic conception of supernatural powers. The North American Indians believe that dwellers of the sky, and cannibals evilly disposed toward men, reside side by side with benevolent agents in one and the same sky.[1] The Eskimo "master" may become a tornaq, a spirit which may be a guardian of man, or hostile to him.[2] It is true that many Koryak guardians are called kalak or kamak, and correspond in this respect to the Eskimo tornaq; but the class of kalau which commit exclusively evil acts does not seem to occur in American mythologies. The evil kalau correspond exactly to the Yakut abasyla'r. The Yakut evil spirits (abasyla'r) are cannibals, and particularly soul-eaters; and their characteristic peculiarity, like that of the Chukchee kelet and the Koryak kalau, is that they are fond of human liver.

For purposes of comparison I will state here briefly the classification of supernatural beings of the Yakut, so far as it is known from my own investigations and from those of other authors.

The religious system of the Yakut is well developed. The class of creative and benevolent deities are called creators (ayi'). They live in the sky, on its eastern side. The majority of them have special names and functions. The Supreme Being and the chief of the benevolent deities is called Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayi'-Uru'ß-Toyo'n). He also personifies the sun. The Chukchee idea of va'irgin[3] apparently corresponds to the Yakut ayi'.

Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) is a word which indicates everything evil and harmful in nature[4] and spirits hostile to men. Abasyla'r are divided into "upper," living in heaven, occupying its western part, and having Great Master or Great-Lord (Uļu'-Toyo'n) as their chief; "middle," living in the "middle place" (orto'-doidu'), that is, on earth; and "lower," inhabiting the lower (allara'-doidu'), subterranean world.

Iŏŏi' ("owner") corresponds to the Eskimo inua; but not all objects have iŏŏi', only the more insignificant ones. They are rather malevolent than benevolent by nature, and approach closer the abasy' than ayi'.

Tañara' is a word which at present indicates heaven, the Christian God, and images of the saints of the Greek-Catholic Church (icons); but formerly,

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[1] Boas, Bella Coola Indians, pp. 32, 36.
[2] See p. 24.
[3] Id., Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 238.
[4] See Polunsky, p. 3.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

before the Yakut had embraced Christianity, it was applied to household guardians and charms.

The Yakut shamans are divided into kind shamans (ayï'-oyuna') and evil-minded ones (abasy'-oyuna'); and their guardian spirits are accordingly either creative deities or evil spirits. Owing to the decline of professional shamanism among the Koryak, this division is not marked, but it does exist among the Chukchee.

Among the objects believed by the Koryak to be endowed with particular power is fly-agaric (wā'paq, *Agaricus muscarius*). The method of gathering and the use made of this poisonous fungus will be described later on. It may suffice here to point out the mythologic concept of the Koryak regarding fly-agaric. Once, so the Koryak relate, Big-Raven had caught a whale, and could not send it to its home in the sea. He was unable to lift the grass bag containing travelling-provisions for the whale.[1] Big-Raven applied to Existence (Vahi'yŭm) to help him. The deity said to him, "Go to a level place near the sea: there thou wilt find white soft stalks with spotted hats. These are the spirits wā'paq. Eat some of them, and they will help thee." Big-Raven went. Then the Supreme Being spat upon the earth, and out of his saliva the agaric appeared. Big-Raven found the fungus, ate of it, and began to feel gay. He started to dance. The Fly-Agaric said to him, "How is it that thou, being such a strong man, canst not lift the bag?" — "That is right," said Big-Raven. "I am a strong man. I shall go and lift the travelling-bag." He went, lifted the bag at once, and sent the whale home. Then the Agaric showed him how the whale was going out to sea, and how he would return to his comrades. Then Big-Raven said, "Let the Agaric remain on earth, and let my children see what it will show them."

The idea of the Koryak is, that a person drugged with agaric fungi does what the spirits residing in them (wā'paq) tell him to do. "Here I am, lying here and feeling so sad," said old Euwinpet from Paren to me; "but, should I eat some agaric, I should get up and commence to talk and dance. There is an old man with white hair. If he should eat some agaric, and if he were then told by it, 'You have just been born,' the old man would at once begin to cry like a new-born baby. Or, if the Agaric should say to a man, 'You will melt away soon,' then the man would see his legs, arms, and body melt away, and he would say, 'Oh! why have I eaten of the agaric? Now I am gone!' Or, should the Agaric say, 'Go to The-One-on-High,' the man would go to The-One-on-High. The latter would put him on the palm of his hand, and twist him like a thread, so that his bones would crack, and the entire world would twirl around. 'Oh, I am dead!' that man would say. 'Why have I eaten the agaric?' But when he came to, he would eat it again, because sometimes it is pleasant and cheerful. Besides, the Agaric would tell every

[1] See pp. 75, 76.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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man, even if he were not a shaman, what ailed him when he was sick, or explain a dream to him, or show him the upper world or the underground world, or foretell what would happen to him."

The Koryak tales, as well as my other records of Koryak beliefs, offer but scant material relating to their ideas of the creation of the world.

According to the Kamchadal traditions,[1] Raven (Kutq) created the earth; according to one of them, he made it out of his son Simskalin; while another states that he carried the earth down from the sky with the help of his sister, and set it firmly in the sea. In the Koryak tales, only one name is met with which has any relation to the creation of the earth: it is that of Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), who married Big-Raven's daughter.[2] The Koryak ideas of the form of the universe are also very vague. The Chukchee believe that there are nine worlds, one above the other.[3] The Koryak, like the Bella Coola Indians, think that there are five worlds; namely, our earth (Nuta'lqen), two worlds above it, and two below. The lower of the two upper worlds is inhabited by the Cloud people (Ya'hala'nu); while the upper one is the abode of the Supreme Being. Of the underground worlds, the upper one is inhabited by the kalau; and the lower, called Eñna'nenak or Ñe'nenqal ("on the opposite side," "yonder"), is occupied by the shades of the dead, the Peni'nelau ("ancient people").

According to some informants, there is still another underground world, the one nearest to the earth, inhabited by people like those living on earth.[4] From other informants I was led to conclude that the two upper worlds are merged into one, which is inhabited by the Supreme Being and the Cloud-Dwellers (I'ye-ntmyi'sa'n, "inhabitants of the heaven village"). The lower worlds are also merged into one, lower village (taivivo'laken), in which there are separate sections for the kalau, the dead, and other inhabitants.

The underground kalau ascend from their world to our earth, and reach the lower world again, through the hearth-fire of human dwellings. The dead descend to the world of shades through the fire of the burning-place.

In the mythological age of Big-Raven, men could ascend to heaven, and get down into the underground world, with great ease. Now only shamans are capable of doing it. The kalau and other spirits have become invisible to common people, and their arrows can be discovered only by shamans. On the other hand, there are tales according to which men who visit the underground world are invisible to spirits. This calls to mind episodes in Indian tales relating to the arrows of men, which are invisible to spirits.[5] On the Kolyma River, I recorded an interesting tale relating to this subject. It was told by a Yakut; but I am inclined to think that the story was borrowed from the Yukaghir. "In the winter a hunter fell into a crevice in the earth formed

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 100.
[2] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. XII.
[3] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 87, 94, 99, 149, 190, 238, 254, 289.
[4] See Tale 111.
[5] See Tale 110.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYU Koryak RYU

773 by the frost,[1] and got into the underground world. There he found Yakut people, like those on earth. They had the same kind of horses, just the same horned cattle, the same kinds of houses, stalls, and storehouses; and the people were just the same. He went into a house, and found the people eating. He greeted them; but, instead of responding to his greeting, the host looked about the house, and said, 'What kind of an abasy (evil spirit) is talking here?' Thus the new-comer discovered that he was invisible. As he was very hungry, he went up to the table and helped himself to meat, fish, and frozen cream out of dishes and wooden plates that were standing there, so that their contents disappeared rapidly. The host scolded his children for eating so much, saying that everything was disappearing very quickly. One of these children was a pretty young girl. Having satisfied his hunger, the Yakut sat down near her, embraced her, and, following the Yakut custom, smelled of her. All of a sudden the people noticed that the girl began to writhe, and that she had an hysterical fit. As soon as the Yakut left her alone, she quieted down. At night he lay down by her side, and when he embraced her she again fell into a fit. On the next day a shaman was called, who donned his attire and began to beat the drum. Then the Yakut sat down near the girl and embraced her, and again she writhed and screamed. Suddenly the shaman said, 'I see! it is a spirit from the middle earth above us, who is strangling her.' He made his conjurations, and finally entered into negotiations with the Yakut, asking him what he would like to have to leave the girl alone. The Yakut replied that he would leave the place if they gave him a black fox. The shaman gave him the fox, and exorcised him. Then he took him out of the house and showed him how to get out to the earth; and thus, after prolonged wandering, the Yakut returned home and told of his experience.'

773 The luminaries are supposed to be beings of the same kind as men. As
821 stated before, the Sun (Ti'yktiy) is regarded as a deity, and is frequently identified with the Supreme Being; but in the tales he is regarded rather as a country inhabited by the Sun people, particularly by Sun-Man, his daughter and son.[2] In the incantation on p. 62 a woman of the country of the dawn is mentioned who is regarded as the sun. On the other hand, it is told that the Sun was swallowed by the raven.[3]

In some tales the Moon is described as a man;[4] in others, as a woman[5] whom Eme'mqut takes for his wife. In still another tale we meet with a Star-Man.[6]

I recorded the following names of stars: —

1. Ursa Major, Elwe'kyeñ ("the wild reindeer-buck") and Elwe'eñen ("wild reindeer star").
2. The Pleiades, Ke'tmet ("little sieve").

[1] In the cold of winter, when there is little snow, the surface-soil cracks, and forms wide rents, which in spring are washed out by the melting snow, and become regular ravines.
[2] Tales 12, 21. [3] Tale 82. [4] Tale 114. [5] Tale 29.

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3. Capella in the constellation of Auriga, Yeke'ñelaqhn ("driving with reindeer"). 773
4. The belt of Orion, Ena'nvenanāña ("the handle of a scraper") or Ulveiyinitila'n ("he who carries the bow across"). 821
5. The Polar Star, Ačka'p-aña'ī ("nail-star").
6. The Morning Star, Pe'geten ("suspended breath").
7. The Milky Way, Ya'veyem ("clay river").

Fig. 58 represents a map of the starry sky drawn by the Koryak Ače'pin of Kamenskoye. In addition to the Milky Way, he seemed to know the following constellations and stars only: (1) Ursa Major, (2) the Polar Star, (3) the Pleiades, and (4) Orion. Besides, the last two constellations are placed on the left side of his map, instead of on the right. Apparently Ače'pin, who drew that map, made a mistake when transferring the stars from the vaulted sky to the map.

Fig. 58. Koryak Sketch representing Star Map.

The wind and the fog are also regarded as men living in settlements. Thus Wind-Man is called Kitti'hımtila'n or Kitty-ni'myisa'n ("inhabitant of the village of the winds"); while Fog-Man is called Yiña'mtila'n, and Fog-Woman, Yiña'm-ña'ut.

There is no doubt that the primitive views of nature held by the Koryak are gradually breaking down. In spite of the fact that the Koryak come in contact only with the lowest representatives of Russian civilization, and that even the formal side of Christianity is being adopted by them very slowly, the new ideas presented in the mode of life of the Russians are destroying the Koryak beliefs at an ever-accelerating rate. Their religion is dwindling down to the mere observation of rites and of taboos the meaning of which is gradually being lost; and their religious myths are changing into meaningless tales and fables, or are being forgotten entirely. 773 177

It is very interesting to note that a critical attitude toward the ancient customs does not find equal expression in all places. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula have assumed a critical attitude toward the sacred fire-board. Their official chief told me that he has no longer a sacred fire-board, that he prefers to have real shepherds for his herd. He considers the drum, however, not only a family guardian, but also the guardian of the herd. I was unable to acquire for the collection an old drum from the Taigonos 778 177

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Kamchadal RY 3

XV. — CHARACTERISTICS OF KORYAK MYTHS

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The general features of Koryak mythology have been discussed in Chapter VII (pp. 115 et seq.). In general character the mythology of the Koryak, Kamchadal, and Chukchee shows many similarities.

COMPARISON WITH KAMCHADAL MYTHOLOGY. — All that we know of the Kamchadal mythology from Steller,[1] and from the Kamchadal myths given in Chapter XIV, leads to the conclusion that the Koryak and the Kamchadal had one and the same folk-lore. Steller relates only two complex myths, — one containing the story of Kutq's adventures with the mice, and the other telling of his love-affair with Excrement-Woman. The former myth will also be found among the Kamchadal tales in this book,[2] and both tales occur among the Koryak myths.[3] Besides, when summing up the general characteristics of Kamchadal mythology, Steller says that the entire folk-lore of the Kamchadal consisted of indecent tales about their god Kutq (Raven), as Steller calls the founder of the Kamchadal world. In this respect Kamchadal mythology corresponds closely to that of the Koryak, and forms a clearly defined cycle, consisting exclusively of raven myths. It may therefore be stated without hesitation that whatever is true of Koryak folk-lore is just as true of that of the Kamchadal.

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Steller also mentions three separate episodes from tales about Kutq which he had heard told. In the first of these episodes, Kutq's gluttony is described. He reaches a river, and sees the ground on the opposite bank covered with berries. Being unable to cross the river, he cuts off his own head, and throws it across, so that it may eat the berries.[4] The second episode, which is illustrative of the concupiscence of Kutq (who tried to have sexual intercourse with all objects that he met), relates that he once found a valved shell on the seashore, with which he had intercourse. The valves closed, and cut off his penis.[5] This calls to mind the tales about the vagina armed with teeth. The third episode, which reflects the coarse tendency of the Koryak imagination in general, tells how Kutq once took Chāchȳ (thus Steller calls Raven's wife) for an underground house, her vulva for the entrance-opening, and her anus for the underground passage of the ancient Kamchadal house, which was used for a draught.[6] He entered the house through the vulva, found the liver, and was about to take it, when it began to move. Then he became frightened, and ran out of the underground house.[7] In the Koryak tale, Big-Raven entered Miti''s anus as though it were the entrance to an underground house.[8]

[1] Steller, pp. 253-284. [2] Tale 131 (p. 329).
[3] Tales 88, 121, 130 (pp. 260, 316, 324). [4] Steller, p. 260. [5] Ibid., p. 263.
[6] See pp. 14, 53; Steller, p. 272. [7] Steller, p. 263. [8] Tale 25 (p. 169).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4
KAMCHADAL RY2
CHUKCHEE RY2
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K1

773 171 177 It is important to point out here some peculiarities of the present Kamchadal myths as compared with those related by Steller, and with the Koryak myths. In the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras, adventures are ascribed to Kutq and to members of his family, which, among the Koryak, are told about kalau.[1] For instance, in one tale[2] Miti' cuts off her nose and lips, and catches the mice which are in her light; but the Fox sets the mice free, and finally kills Miti' by throwing her down a rock. In Koryak tales[3] all this is told with reference to a kala-woman. I am inclined to attribute this divergence to the effect of Russian influence. The Kamchadal adopted Christianity long ago, and in a certain sense they are devout Christians, while the Russian priests constantly try to persuade the natives of Siberia who have been converted to Christianity that their former gods are devils and evil spirits. Thus, the Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma, in my presence, called their ancient guardian-idol, which was hanging in the woods, "Satan;" and the scaffold graves of their ancestors, and those above ground, which they used to worship, the Russianized Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma now call "the graves of the perished (могилы пропащихъ)," an expression which is otherwise applied to animals only; and they remained quite indifferent when I proceeded to open those graves.[4]

KK C

773 776 171 Comparison with Chukchee Mythology. — The relation of the Koryak folk-lore to that of the Chukchee is somewhat different from its relation to the Kamchadal folk-lore. As may be seen from the publications of Mr. Bogoras,[5] the influence of the Eskimo myths upon Chukchee folk-lore was greater than that upon Koryak folk-lore; and the cycle of raven myths is therefore less preponderant than that of the Koryak. Big-Raven and Raven-Man of the Koryak are merged into one person named Ku'rkil (Raven); and the Creator of the Koryak myths, identified among the Koryak with Big-Raven, appears among the Chukchee (with the exception of the passages enumerated before)[6] as a being independent of Ku'rkil, but the same as the Supreme Being. From this we may draw the conclusion that the raven of the Chukchee, owing, perhaps, to the effect of their contact with the Eskimo, has lost its place as the ancestor of the tribe, and remains merely a hero of the animal epos. On the other hand, the Chukchee have retained more cosmogonic tales about the raven than the Koryak, which, however, might be explained by the fact that Koryak folk-lore is on the decline. Incidents of maritime life, which are very prominent in the Koryak myths, are even more prevalent in those of the Chukchee, where they assume a coloring of Eskimo life.

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[1] Tales 32, 56, 79, 112 (pp. 181, 212, 246, 402).
[2] Tale 131 (p. 331).
[3] Tales 32, 56 (pp. 181, 212).
[4] It must be noted here that in one Koryak tale of Kamenskoye (Tale 108, p. 295), Big-Raven's son, Emo'mqut, appears as a cannibal in the same manner as the monster gormandizer of Tale 112, p. 302. This may also be ascribed to Russian influence.
[5] Chukchee Materials, Introductory; Anthropologist, pp. 682, 683.
[6] See p. 17.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY 2

K C 773 776

The ancestors of the Maritime Chukchee[1] are said to have been created out of seal-bones. Sea-monsters in the form of a white bear, a whale shaman, and cannibals from beyond the sea, figure very often as heroes of their tales. A skin boat moving as swiftly as the flight of birds, and a canoe which crosses the sea of its own accord, constitute favorite topics of those tales. Some of the Chukchee tales not only contain well-known Eskimo episodes, but are identical in all details with Eskimo traditions. There are also some passages which are similar to the Sedna myths. Fish stories are almost absent. In the Chukchee tales the Reindeer people are more frequently contrasted with the Maritime people, and it might be concluded from this that the beginning of reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee belongs to a later period than among the Koryak. In the Chukchee traditions telling of their struggles with neighboring tribes, the Koryak are represented as a Reindeer tribe.

Among the Chukchee we find one class of traditions which contain very little of the fantastic element. These tell of their struggles with various hostile tribes. Other groups of tales relate to the creation of the world, to the kelet, and to animals. Among the Koryak, tales of all these classes — such as those of struggles with hostile tribes and of the creation of the world — are either little developed, or appear only as incidents in the myths concerning Big-Raven. Thus, among the number of tales recorded here, there are only two the subject of which is a fight between Big-Raven and the Chukchee.[2]

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The fragmentary and disjointed character of the Koryak tales here presented cannot be explained alone by the fact that the tales about Big-Raven have absorbed all other kinds of tales, but also by the fact, already mentioned, that the Koryak myths are in a period of decline. At present there are no more story-tellers who are ready to present the current episodes in interesting combinations, and who weld the mythological stories into long tales. The best proof of this is the fact that the art of story-telling has now passed over entirely to the women, while, until quite recently, the men were the best story-tellers. With a few exceptions, almost all the tales collected in this book were told by women. The woman who told me the unfinished tale, No. 9 (p. 142) said that she heard it from an old man who died fifteen years ago. She went one morning into a neighbor's tent, and found there the old story-teller, who began to tell a tale. She listened for a while, and then returned home, where she had work to do. Toward evening she went back to her neighbor's, and found the old man still telling the same tale that he commenced in the morning. The fragment that she related to me constitutes only the beginning of the tale. It is likely that the Koryak woman story about the story-teller is somewhat exaggerated; but nevertheless it gives an idea of how

[1] When the earth was created, there were two separate Chukchee countries, — that of the Maritime, and that of the Reindeer people (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. ix).

[2] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4
Yukaghir
RY3

rapid the decline of Koryak folk-lore has been.[1] When among the Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal, I once urged an old man, who generally was very communicative and answered all my questions, to tell me some tales; but he replied that he did not know any. "Is it possible that you have not heard any tales?" I asked him. "Yes, I have heard them," he replied. "The women will tell them; but I forget them at once. We have no time to fool with stories. We are in the cold all the time, taking care of the herd. We suffer much, and come home tired, just to sleep. The Maritime people don't work in the winter. They have plenty of time. They live in warm houses. They know many tales." However, even the men of the Maritime people did not tell me many tales, either. The few tales that men from the Maritime villages told me are the least interesting ones. It may be said that the primitive form of the folk-lore, in which all forms of tales relate to deities and spirits, is disappearing as a consequence of contact with a higher civilization. It disappears without being transformed into folk-lore pure and simple, independent of religion, such as epic hero-tales, interesting fables, and allegories. Such transition seems to occur among the Chukchee. Koryak folk-lore is passing away, just as it has done among a part of the Koryak inhabiting northern Kamchatka, who have entirely forgotten their ancient myths, and have not created any new ones.

COMPARISON WITH YUKAGHIR MYTHOLOGY. — If we compare the Koryak myths with those of the Yukaghir,[2] we recognize that the latter are in a still worse state of decline, especially with reference to the original topics; but the Yukaghir have borrowed some topics of their tales from the Mongol-Turks. Generally speaking, the Yukaghir myths proper represent at present fragments of the Chukchee and Koryak cycles of traditions; but we find among these fragments elements of myths about the Chukchee kelet or the Koryak kalau, and with episodes of the raven cycle. The new material on the Yukaghir collected by me for the Jesup Expedition, as well as the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras among the Russianized Yukaghir along the lower part of the Kolyma, point still more to a close connection between the Yukaghir traditions and the cycle of myths current on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

Judging from the material published, and from information gathered from that not yet published, the difference between the Koryak myths and those of the Aino-Gilyak consists primarily in the fact that the Aino-Gilyak myths, owing, perhaps, to Japanese influence, treat mainly of animals, but they include a great many North Pacific elements.

COMPARISON WITH MONGOL-TURK MYTHOLOGY. — Before proceeding to

[1] I will mention here that I met one male story-teller among the Yakut who was able to relate tales, with some interruptions, for entire days, combining and welding together various episodes and stories. I heard that there are quite a number of such narrators among the Yakut.

[2] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

COMPARISON WITH MONGOL-TURK MYTHOLOGY. — Before proceeding to compare the Koryak myths with the Eskimo-Indian traditions, I shall attempt to point out in what respect the Koryak myths differ from those of the Mongol-Turk. I select the Mongol-Turk from among the Ural-Altaic tribes, because they are the nearest neighbors of the Koryak. Besides, the material which I had at my disposal when working up the Koryak collection belonged mainly to the Mongol-Turk folk-lore, or, rather, to the folk-lore of Siberian Mongol-Turks. Though this folk-lore has so far been little studied, sufficient material has been collected. The publications which I used while working up my material are enumerated in the list of authorities, pp. 3-11.

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Potanin, the well-known Russian traveller, — who supports the theory that some topics of Russian legends and tales, and of all Western legends in general, were borrowed from Mongol-Turk sources, — finds much in common in the shamanistic beliefs, ceremonies, and legends current over the vast expanse of land extending from the Altai Mountains to the Verkhoyansk Ridge on one side, and to the southern parts of European Russia on the other. He thinks that common cults prevailed, and legends of the same kind were in vogue, over this whole area;[1] and, indeed, the Yakut who inhabit the extreme northeastern portion of that district, and who at present constitute an isolated branch of the Turkish tribes, have legends which bear traces of an origin from the folk-lore created by the civilization of central Asia, which had reached a comparatively high state of development in early antiquity.

I will give here a brief characterization of the folk-lore of the tribes living nearest to the Koryak, confining myself principally to the Turkish Yakut and the Mongol Buryat. We shall see that their folk-lore differs from that of the Pacific coast both in form and ideas. The former is due to the higher stage of development of the tribes which created the Mongol-Turk folk-lore. The latter points to the fact that the elements of the folk-lore originated in a different region.

Of the various products of the creative genius of the Mongol-Turk, I shall select those which seem most important for purposes of comparison, — their hero-tales. The motives which prompt the heroes of the legends to undertake their wanderings, or to perform certain actions, are common human motives, — the going in quest of a bride or in search of a sister, a contest between heroes, or simply valiant deeds prompted by the desire of the hero to display strength. Though the conditions of life of the Yakut in the extreme north must have had a deteriorating effect upon their culture, which presumably originated in a country situated farther south, their hero-tales (olonxo'), in their elevated style and poetic flight, rise sometimes to the height of epic poems of the West. We find in them descriptions of nature serving as a background to the actions of the heroes, poetical similes and metaphors, and a wealth of epithets applied to the description of objects and persons. The tales

[1] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. ix (Introductory).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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belonging to the North Pacific cycle of myths are characterized by elementary simplicity. Verbosity and eloquence are altogether absent, and the language is marked by meagreness of epithets. The tales consist of episodes following one after another, and contain simple accounts of successive actions or states of the heroes. Only a few of the Chukchee legends, such as the tale about Elendi,[1] approach in style the epic models of a more highly developed folk-lore.

In order to give an idea of the difference in style between the Koryak tales and those of the Mongol-Turks, I shall give here extracts from the legends of the latter.

"Khan Guzhir drove to the blue sea, turned into a golden birch, which grows there, throwing a cool shade upon the sea by its curly leaves" (from the Buryat tale about Khan-Guzhir).[2]

Here are two specimens from Yakut tales, collected by Khudyakoff, who recorded the Yakut text and made a literal translation. In the poem called "The White Youth" (Uru'n Uola'n), the appearance of a beautiful fairy, who asks the White Youth, a knight of divine (ayi') origin, for protection against the encroachments of a powerful hero of devilish (abasy') origin, is thus described:[3] —

"Just when he was falling asleep, between sleep and waking, he heard above him a voice, gentle and kind, — the voice of a woman whispering, like the sound of the light breeze which rustles in the leaves of the poplar-trees up the river."

Such exalted language and such poetical similes could not have originated in the polar region, where the Yakut live at present. Another part of the same poem is worth quoting.[4] It is erotic in character; but, in spite of its utter frankness, it is clothed in a poetical form, and is not at all like the coarse and lewd passages of the corresponding erotic episodes of the Pacific coast. A monster of devilish origin appeals to the White Youth, requesting him to assist him in getting possession of the beautiful woman: —

"'We shall ride very fast, very hastily, very speedily,' says the monster. 'Go and make the bed softer for the mistress, for the lady. To-night I have a mind to go to my mistress, to take her, the clean one, to wet her, the transparent one. Lad, untie her night-dress, with four rings and a seam in the middle; strip off her soft reindeer-skin dress, with eight hooks and a seam at the groins. And then, from under the hem, the shameful part of the body will sparkle, the distinguished part of the body will shine. Look out! don't lust after it, don't envy! That is mine, thy master's. Art thou quick in letting down women's drawers? Art thou prompt in tearing off their leggings? ... Oh! I, so wasted and emaciated, shall I have a chance to enjoy it? Thou, I suppose, wilt support and help me, and wilt even push me! Dost thou hear? Well, then, go on!'

"Upon this the man grew terribly angry, awfully wrathful; the blood rushed to his cheeks, and smoking hot became the blood of his nose. His daring thought came leaping from his side; his boastful thought came flying from the nape of his neck; his proud thought arrived, smoking like a blue cloud. Then he commenced to speak in his wrath, like the sound of a rifle-shot:

"'What insulting words! what a venom of mouth! what a caustic beak! foulness of the lips of such a piece of nothingness! the lowest of eaters,[5] profligate among the devils! a devil from the

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. 339-353.
[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 70.
[3] Khudyakoff, p. 161.
[4] Ibid., p. 158.
[5] The evil spirits abasyla'r are called in the Yakut myths simply "eaters," on account of their being cannibals and soul-eaters.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

very worst place! Thou'dst better tell thy will instead of that! Say, instead of that, thy last word of farewell to the earth and place! I shall break the crown of thy head into four pieces; the upper part of thy body, into three; thy body, into five parts!'" 171 773

All this is a preliminary dialogue before a combat between the devilish (abasy') and divine (ayi') heroes.

It must be remarked, that, since the art of writing is unknown to the Yakut, the heroic tales are committed to memory by young narrators, who learn them from the old men; for, in spite of the wealth of allegory in the Yakut ordinary conversation and the Yakut fondness of verbosity, the solemn character, impressive style, poetic flight, and the archaic expression of the poems, are peculiar to the heroic tales. It is not easy to be a good narrator.

The Yakut, as well as the Buryat, do not hesitate to call things by their proper names in the presence of girls and children. They are greatly disposed to ribaldry; their languages contain many ambiguous expressions; they have many obscene stories: but the last named occupy rather the place of pornographic stories of more civilized peoples.

I shall quote here one more passage from a Yakut tale, bearing traces of a more primitive view of nature, which regards all domestic objects as though they were animate; but it is rendered in an exalted style.

In a lengthy description of the riches of Ber-Khara', the hero, it is said, "had a bowl which would rise gravely and walk up to him. He had kumiss-goblets which walked up at the quiet pace of a stout man. There were cups which came up awkwardly. There were meat-boards which came up step by step. He had a hatchet which came running up to him. In the middle of his smooth, rapidly moving silver courtyard there were three lordly horse-ties, like three tribal chiefs."[1]

But such animistic views are seldom met with in the Mongol-Turk legends. Transformations of heroes into animals or inanimate objects appear in them to be the result of supernatural powers; while in the North Pacific myths all transformations appear as acts which are close to natural phenomena.

The Mongol-Turk folk-lore not only reflects a mode of life different from that portrayed in the North Pacific myths, but it manifests another form of imagination. Among the Yakut, the heroes are chiefs of clans (toyo'ns): among other Turkish tribes and among the Buryat Mongols, they are khans and princes, who, either by their origin, or kinship, or ties of friendship, are connected with the creative and benevolent, or with the evil, supernatural beings. They are often actuated by noble motives, while the heroes of the Koryak myths, like those of North American mythology, are egotistical. There are many-headed monsters swallowing entire kingdoms, iron athletes destroying everything in their way, resplendent heroes mounted upon winged iron steeds. The hero's steed is swift as an arrow, light as a cloud, and, covered with

[1] Khudyakoff, p. 94.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

171 bloody sweat, it breaks the iron walls of enchanted castles. The horse figures
773 as the assistant and counsellor of the hero, — it warns him of impending danger, shows the way, and participates in his battles. The reindeer of the Koryak myths does not play such a part, being regarded mainly as an indication of wealth.[1]

Though the heroes of this legendary epos are frequently transformed into animals, or have the shape of animals, the underlying idea is not that of the identity of the hero and of the animal, but rather that of a supernatural and exceptional transformation for special purposes.

The Mongol-Turk tales of animals, in general, constitute a separate class of folk-lore, and in most cases have the form of comical fantastic tales told for pastime, or they are fables. Only a few of them reflect the view of nature held by the tribe at a remote period, and are connected with cosmogonic and mythological tales.

773 Although the Koryak folk-lore, as will be shown further on, is closely
177 connected with American mythology, it contains, nevertheless, a certain number of Asiatic or Mongol-Turk elements. Since the majority of episodes of the Koryak myths are found also in the tales of American tribes, we are justified in ascribing the presence of Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak mythology, not to the common origin of the latter with the Mongol-Turk, but simply to the fact that the Koryak must have borrowed these elements. It would be interesting to find out how these elements have been introduced. As far as we are familiar with the history of these peoples, neither the Buryat nor the Yakut ever had any direct intercourse with the Koryak or Chukchee. The Buryat live too far southwest, while the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the far north. Even at present the Koryak do not come in contact with the Yakut as a tribe. Only on rare occasions do a few Yakut from the Kolyma cross the Stanovoi Mountains to visit Gishiga for trading-purposes. At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government sent Yakut criminals into exile from Yakutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, near the southern border of the Koryak territory; but these isolated meetings cannot have had any influence upon Koryak mythology.

773 If the assumption that the Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak myths
174 were borrowed, is at all correct, then the tribes by which these elements were introduced must have been the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the south. I shall discuss at length the influence of the Yukaghir in my description of the Yukaghir, which will be published later on. At present I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the influence of the Tungus.

The Tungus are related to the Manchus. They are supposed to have

[1] It is interesting to note, that, in a Gilyak tale recorded on Saghalin Island by Sternberg (Gilyak Materials, p. 407), the hero has a winged iron reindeer, which speaks, gives advice, and carries him to heaven. It seems to me that this is borrowed from the Tungus tribes.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

migrated northward from the Amur River. At the time of the advent of the Russians in the Far East, the Tungus already occupied the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, thus separating the Gilyak of the Lower Amur River from the Koryak. The mythology of the Tungus has hardly been studied at all. From the small number of Tungus tales recorded by me on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, it may be seen, that, though reflecting the mode of life of a reindeer-breeding people, they contain episodes from Mongol-Turk tales, and have almost no relation whatever to the raven cycle, or other characteristic North Pacific coast tales. Owing to the difference in social conditions, we find, in place of the rich Yakut lord or clan chief (toyo'n), or the Buryat Mongolian khans and princes, the powerful men (ni'vany), iron heroes, and amazons. We find also iron tents and reindeer breathing flames, like the iron houses and the winged iron steeds of the Mongol-Turk. I found all the episodes of one Tungus tale recorded by me, in the Buryat tales of Khangaloff. Of course, in order to form a final opinion regarding Tungus folk-lore, it is necessary to wait until the material of their tales has been collected from the various regions inhabited by the branches of this small but widely scattered tribe.[1] A certain number of Tungus tales from the northern regions have been recorded by Mr. Bogoras, but have not been published. However, the material at present available proves that a certain part of the Mongol-Turk elements found in the Koryak folk-lore was borrowed from the Tungus.

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Through the use of domesticated reindeer, which is an acquisition of Asiatic culture, elements must have been introduced into the folk-lore of the Koryak which are foreign to the American tribes. In relation to this subject, a comparative study should be made of the myths current on the Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean, of those of the reindeer-breeding Samoyed-Finn tribes inhabiting all of northern Siberia and Europe, including the Lapps of Norway, and of those of the reindeer-breeders to the south of the Koryak.

Among the Mongol-Turk elements of the Koryak myths, I include bloody sacrifices; and the presence in the tales of iron and silver objects owned by beings or men of supernatural power, such as iron or silver horns and hoofs of reindeer, rods of the tent or posts of the underground house, iron snowshoes, wonderful iron sleighs, iron boats or fishes which take the hero across a burning sea, iron mice lifting the hero upon a burning mountain, or a child with iron teeth from which sparks are flying, or an iron cliff in which a girl is hidden.[2]

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It must be pointed out, however, that copper is mentioned in a similar manner in Indian myths. Copper was used by the American Indians long before the advent of the whites, and may have been replaced by other metals when the episodes in which it was referred to were carried to Asia. In most

[1] The branches of the Tungus tribe are scattered at present between the Okhotsk Sea to the east, the River Yenisei to the west, the Arctic Ocean to the north, and China to the south.

[2] See Tales 11, 17, 21, 48, 52, 66, 82, 83, 95 (pp. 145, 155, 163, 201, 208, 226, 251, 254, 281, 282).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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●773 of the American tales, copper is mainly a symbol of wealth; but we also find passages in which copper articles possess, like those of iron and silver in Asia, a magic power. For instance, in a tale of the Nimkish tribe,[1] we find a copper plate, which is the cause of daylight; and in one of the Kwakiutl tales[2] a copper canoe moves by itself, without paddles, over sea and land, talks, gives instructions to its master how to kill deer, eats seals, and causes a flood; in a tale of the Chilcotin[3] an "iron sweat-house" of the Sun is mentioned.

The frequent occurrence of tales about girls being placed by themselves in small huts, on trees, in underground houses, or hidden in stones, beads, rings, and other objects, may also be counted among the Asiatic elements.

In the tales of both sides of the Pacific Ocean we frequently hear of powerful heroes who pull up trees in order to develop their strength. Powerful men who carry forests and mountains on the palms of their hands, mentioned in the tale "Bear's Ear" (No. 76, p. 240), are found in myths almost the world over, and may also belong to the Asiatic episodes. I obtained all the episodes of this tale from Mongolian sources. Mr. Potanin,[4] in describing a certain sacred Mongolian picture representing the deity Dzu-shi, tells that, among the accessory figures on it, there is one athlete carrying a mountain on his head, and another one uprooting forests. In the Buryat tale, "Bor-khu,"[5] three athletes who had become friends settled down to live together. Every day two of them went out hunting, while the third remained at home to cook. Once, when the youngest one remained at home, three girls came from beyond the sea. Two of them took hold of the host and bent him down to the ground, and the third one carried off the cooked meat. When Bor-khu remained at home, he hid; and, when the maidens who had taken the meat wished to leave, he pressed his knee against the door, and they were unable to get out. Almost the same thing happened to Bear's-Ear and his two giant comrades. When the men were out hunting, one of them remained at home. Then a kamak would come, press him against the ground, and eat the cooked meat; but he did not succeed in overcoming Bear's-Ear.[6]

The whole story of Bear's-Ear has the characteristic of Asiatic-European folk-lore. In a Russian tale, "Ivan, the Little Bear" ("Ivan Medvedko"), we read of the expulsion from his parents' home of a strong man who is half man, half bear. Likewise, in the Koryak tale "Bear's-Ear," the hero is represented as a troublesome house-fellow, because he tears the children's clothes. The tale of a bear's ear is known also in the Caucasus.

The five-headed kamak[7] seems to me also to belong to the elements of Mongol-Turk tales, in which many-headed monsters occur quite frequently.

[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 140. [2] Ibid., p. 167. [3] Farrand, Chilcotin Indians, p. 23.
[4] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, I, p. 65. [5] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 84.
[6] Among Mr. Bogoras's collection (Chukchee Materials, p. 99) there is also a tale called "The Bear's-Ear," but its contents are different.
[7] Tale 128 (p. 323).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

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It may be of interest to compare here the Indian tale[1] of a man whose body is covered with mouths that laugh and cry at the same time, with the Buryat tale of Khan-Guzhir,[2] in which a monster with fifty-eight heads comes out of the sea. Some talk, others sing, still others smoke, and the rest propose riddles to one another. This passage, with the same details, is found in the Mongol variants of the poem about Gesser collected by Potanin. The monster Abargo-Sesen-Mañaqtoi has fifteen heads. Some laugh, others talk, still others sing, and the rest tell tales to one another.[3]

The episode[4] in which Eme'mqut is described as having lain on the same spot ever since he was born, so that his side stuck fast to his bed, recalls an episode of Asiatic-European legends about heroes. For instance, the giant Sartactai, according to the Altaic tradition, left his trace on the banks of Katooni River, on which he had been sitting.[5] The most important hero of the Russian epos, Ilya Muromets (Илья Муромецъ), — who had been sitting motionless for thirty-three years, before he commenced his exploits, — left, according to one version of the legend, an imprint on his clay stove, on which he had been sitting.

The tales in which a man turns into a monster[6] and devours all the inhabitants of the village — which corresponds to the tale about the child-monster of the Yukaghir, Chukchee,[7] and Eskimo[8] — may also be found among the Kirghis tales. The following is quite like it: —

"There lived once an old man and an old woman. A child was born to them. Soon they noticed that their cattle was disappearing during the night, but they were unable to discover the cause. The child was a monster. It used to leave its cradle and eat up a horse every night. Having destroyed all the live-stock, the child-monster commenced to devour people. Only his father and mother were left. Finally he swallowed them also."[9]

We find in American tales some elements that occur in the myths of the Old World, but they are absent in the Koryak tales recorded here. For instance, "the water of life," which a hero procures to restore dead bodies to life, or to revive bones, figures frequently in Indian myths on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, and is also one of the favorite episodes of the myths of the Old World.[10] Another case in point is the cosmogonic tale about the raven, or some other bird or other animal which dives into the water to obtain some mud, out of which the earth is created. This tale is popular in many parts of North America, and is found as well among the Chukchee and Yuka-

[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 202.
[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 66.
[3] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 94.
[4] Tale 48, p. 209.
[5] Potanin, II, p. 171.
[6] Tales 108, 112 (pp. 295, 302).
[7] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 27.
[8] Rink, p. 258.
[9] Potanin, II, Remarks, p. 32.
[10] It seems that in the Koryak tales the blood of the reindeer takes the place of "the water of life" (see Tales 3, 67, pp. 130, 228). It must be noted here that in one Chukchee tale we find "bladder with living water" (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. xxiv); and in one Yakut tale (Khudyakoff, p. 127) "three bottles with living water" are mentioned. As to the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras considers the passage as borrowed from the Russian.

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ghir, as also among the Buryat,[1] Turk, and Finnish tribes,[2] but it is absent in the Koryak myths.

The episode about a girl who is visited every night by an unknown lover, and who, in order to discover who her visitor is, smears him with paint or soot, and thus discovers that he is her brother, is common to the Indians and Eskimo, but is also found in Mongolia. In one Mongol tale about the origin of the Kirghis from a sow, it is told that Djengis-khan once arranged a festival. That same night his son shared the bed with his mother, who smeared the culprit's back with soot. In this manner he was recognized in the morning. His father sent him away to the Desert Gobi. There he found a sow. By her he had children, who were the ancestors of the Kirghis.[3]

The episode of Indian tales in which people defecate valuable articles, such as copper ornaments, in place of excrement, is found among the Yakut,[4] who have a tale about a girl who produced precious beads when blowing her nose, and also among the Mongols. The hero of one Mongol tale used to vomit gold, and defecated gold.[5] In one Yukaghir tale we find a hero's horse which defecates silver coins.[6] We find this episode in only one Koryak tale, in which a kala's daughter defecates brass rings (the Indian symbol of wealth) and beads (the Tungus symbol of wealth).[7] Steller tells about Kutka, that, in order to detain pursuers, he defecated on his way all kinds of berries.[8]

The frequent episode in Indian tales of the origin of mosquitoes, flies, frogs, or snakes, etc., from the body, bones, or ashes of spirits, cannibals, or shamans,[9] is found not only in Yukaghir tales,[10] but also in Mongol-Turk traditions.[11]

I will point out here one more passage, common to the Indian and Mongol-Turk tales. A monster woman or a deity is described in the myths of the Bella Coola Indians as a cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man and sucks out his brain.[12] She is afterwards transformed into mosquitoes. In a Buryat variant of Gesser we find a similar episode. A monster bee, monster wasp, and a monster snake are sent one after another to the infant Gesser to suck out his brain, but he strikes them with a magic stone, and they split into small pieces, which become bees, wasps, and snakes.[13]

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TYPES OF KORYAK TALES. — In order to facilitate the study of the Koryak myths, without regard to the similarity of their elements to one or another cycle of myths of other tribes, I have arranged them, according to their contents,

[1] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, pp. 66-68.
[2] Potanin, IV, pp. 797, 798.
[3] Potanin, II, p. 165.
[4] Khudyakoff, p. 88.
[5] Potanin, II, p. 164.
[6] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 52. This is undoubtedly a borrowed Russian folk-tale.
[7] See p. 324.
[8] Steller, p. 263.
[9] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 89, 164, 165, 222, 224, 226, 253, 410.
[10] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 49.
[11] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, pp. 325, 332; Khudyakoff, pp. 107, 124.
[12] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 252; Bella Coola Indians, p. 30.
[13] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 66.

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in a number of divisions. Some of the tales, owing to the diversity of the episodes contained in them, will be mentioned in two or more divisions.

1. The struggle between Big-Raven and his family, and the kalau. This is the largest division, containing twenty-eight tales.[1] To this division belong also the tales about cannibals who are not kalau,[2] and tales about Big-Raven's struggle with wolves.[3]

2. Comic tales and myths about the tricks played by Big-Raven and members of his family, or about the tricks played on them by others.[4]

3. Eme'mqut, Cloud-Man, or other heroes, kill a girl, or the wife of some person, or persuade the husband to kill his wife, for alleged infidelity, and then restore the killed woman to life, and marry her.[5] Here also belong the stories of a person taking a woman away from her husband.[6] In others of the same group a person revives a dead girl, and marries her;[7] or Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive an unnatural desire to give his daughter to his son in marriage, in order that the daughter may run away from Big-Raven, and flee to the camp of the young man whom he patronizes.[8]

4. A kamak, or some other hero, carries away the wife or sister of Eme'mqut, who recovers them after various adventures;[9] or Illa' kills Eme'mqut in order to get possession of his wives; but he comes back to life, and punishes Illa'.[10]

5. Eme'mqut starts off on a voyage, overcomes dangers, and obtains the daughter of the Sun for his wife,[11] or that of Floating-Island[12] or of a five-headed kamak.[13]

6. Big-Raven steals a girl for his son,[14] or, in the shape of a raven, looks out for a bride for him.[15]

7. A girl does not want to marry Eme'mqut; but a monster or some other undesirable suitor sent to her by Big-Raven causes her to run away to Eme'mqut, whom she had rejected before.[16]

8. A girl takes away by force the husband of another person.[17]

9. The first wife kills her rival,[18] or mutilates her.[19]

10. Eme'mqut or his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut succeeds in marrying advantageously; and their cousins, Illa' and Kilu', wish to do the same, but do not

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[1] Tales 1-3, 8, 13-15, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 37, 39, 51, 54, 56, 57, 62, 73-75, 78, 102, 103, 105, 118, 128 (pp. 125, 127, 128, 140, 149, 150, 151, 164, 166, 175, 177, 181, 185, 187, 206, 210, 212, 216, 220, 235, 236, 237, 244, 290, 291, 293, 323).

[2] Tales 79, 108, 112 (pp. 246, 295, 302).

[3] Tales 38, 84, 115 (pp. 186, 255, 309).

[4] Tales 2, 7, 9, 22, 23, 25, 31, 34, 35, 42, 45, 49, 50, 61, 63, 65, 68-71, 88, 90, 92, 105, 106, 119-122, 124-127, 130, 131 (pp. 127, 139, 142, 164, 165, 168, 178, 183, 184, 190, 193, 203, 204, 219, 221, 224, 231, 232, 260, 266, 267, 268, 293, 294, 315, 316, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 327).

[5] Tales 75, 80, 81, 83 (pp. 237, 247, 248, 253).

[6] Tales 8, 11, 45, 67 (pp. 140, 145, 193, 227).

[7] Tales 75, 94 (pp. 237, 273).

[8] Tale 66 (p. 225).

[9] Tales 8, 11, 62, 67 (pp. 140, 145, 220, 227).

[10] Tale 12 (p. 146).

[11] Tale 21 (p. 162).

[12] Tale 46 (p. 197).

[13] Tale 128 (p. 323).

[14] Tale 54 (p. 210).

[15] Tale 136 (p. 336).

[16] Tales 5, 60, 91 (pp. 135, 218, 267).

[17] Tales 93, 94 (pp. 268, 273).

[18] Tales 55, 107 (pp. 209, 294).

[19] Tale 93 (p. 268).

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succeed.[1] In Tale 123 (p. 318), on the contrary, Re'ra, Kĭlu''s sister, finds a husband, while Yiñe'a-ñe'ut does not.

11. Women have a contest of beauty and in the arts of shamanism.[2]

12. The hero causes a woman to contract a disease of which he himself cures her. Then, as a reward, the woman becomes his wife. By the same strategy a man may become a desired husband.[3]

13. Big-Raven's daughter is married to one man, and later on another husband brings her back when she visits her parents.[4]

14. Two persons sue for the hand of Big-Raven's daughter, and the one who accomplishes a certain task gets her.[5]

15. The marriage of Big-Raven's children to animals, inanimate objects, phenomena of nature, and supernatural beings.[6]

16. Miti''s and Big-Raven's adulteries with animals and objects.[7]

17. Eme'mqut marries his sister; and the latter, out of shame, exchanges husbands with another woman.[8]

18. A son of Big-Raven who had been driven away from home, or his deserted daughter, become powerful, and take revenge on their father;[9] or his daughters run away from home, owing to bad treatment.[10]

19. One of Big-Raven's sons starts off in search of his brothers, who are killed by cannibals. He kills the latter, and restores his brothers to life.[11]

20. The transformation of a man into a woman, and *vice versa*, and stories of men bearing children.[12]

21. Big-Raven's and his children's intercourse with the inhabitants of the heavenly or underground villages.[13]

22. Big-Raven's struggle with the Chukchee and Reindeer Koryak.[14]

23. Tales in which Big-Raven or his family are not mentioned.[15]

24. Miscellaneous tales.

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Comparison of Koryak and American Mythologies. — Before proceeding to compare the elements of Koryak folk-lore with the episodes of American myths, it is important to point out some peculiarities of the Koryak tales. We shall see, from the comparative list of episodes (pp. 363-382), that the Koryak myths, while containing chiefly Indian elements, include also a certain number of Eskimo episodes. In the religion of the Koryak we have already

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[1] Tales 18, 19, 42, 58, 101 (pp. 156, 157, 200, 216, 289).
[2] Tales 7, 59 (pp. 140, 217).
[3] Tales 64, 73, 80 (pp. 222, 237, 248).
[4] Tales 79, 81, 91 (pp. 246, 248, 267).
[5] Tale 82 (p. 250).
[6] Tales 19, 33, 48, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 80, 81-83, 86, 87, 106, 116, 123, 126, 135 (pp. 157, 183, 200, 207, 211, 216, 218, 221, 222, 225, 231, 247, 248, 250, 253, 258, 259, 294, 310, 318, 322, 335).
[7] Tales 31, 100, 121 (pp. 180, 288, 316).
[8] Tales 17, 20 (pp. 154, 159).
[9] Tales 76, 114 (pp. 240, 305).
[10] Tale 69 (p. 232), see also p. 21.
[11] Tales 3, 24, 30 (pp. 128, 166, 177).
[12] Tales 45, 85, 113, 129 (pp. 193, 258, 304, 324).
[13] Tales 8, 9, 12, 81, 83, 95, 111, 113, 114 (pp. 140, 142, 146, 248, 253, 280, 299, 304, 305).
[14] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).
[15] Tales 27, 36, 43, 44, 47, 57, 97, 99, 105 (pp. 171, 184, 191, 192, 198, 216, 284, 287, 293).

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found customs that have been observed among the Eskimo. The whale festival of the Maritime Koryak, and their taboo with reference to sea-mammals, — the meat of which must not be partaken of by women after confinement, and which must not come in contact with the dead, — are also found among the Aleut and Eskimo. This similarity is the more interesting, since the main food of the Maritime Koryak, as well as that of the Indians of the Pacific coast, does not consist of sea-mammals, but of fish.

Nevertheless, we find greater similarity between the religion of the Koryak and the beliefs of the Indians of the Pacific coast. In nothing, however, is this similarity so complete as in the Koryak myths, and nothing points so plainly to a very ancient connection between the Koryak and Indian mythologies as the similarity of the elements of which they are composed; for, while some of the religious customs and ceremonies may have been borrowed in recent times, the myths reflect for a very long time, and very tenaciously, the state of mind of the people of the remotest periods.

On the other hand, the similarity between the elements of Koryak myths and those of the Indians cannot be ascribed to a single cycle of traditions of the Pacific coast of America. They are not even confined to the coast only. We find in the Koryak myths elements of the raven cycle of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; those of the cycle of tales about the Mink of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes; of myths about wandering culture-heroes, totem-ancestors; and of tales about animals current among the tribes of British Columbia; and also episodes from the myths of the Athapascan of the interior, and the Algonquin and Iroquois east of the Rocky Mountains.

The circumstance that almost the entire Koryak-Kamchadal mythology is devoted exclusively to tales about Big-Raven brings it close to the American cycle of raven myths; but some characteristic features from other American cycles are also referred to Big-Raven. We find in the tales relating to Big-Raven and to members of his family a love for indecent and coarse tricks, which they perform for their own amusement — a feature common to all the tales current on the whole Pacific coast.

To Big-Raven are ascribed not only greediness and gluttony, features characteristic of the heroes of the raven cycle, but also the erotic inclinations of the Mink, as well as the qualities of other heroes and transformers of the Pacific coast, and of the heroes Manabozho of the Algonquin, and Hiawatha of the Iroquois. Thus Big-Raven figures not only as the organizer of the universe and the ancestor of the Koryak, but also as a culture-hero.

In the monotony and lack of color of the tales, uniformity of the episodes, and simplicity of the motives of actions, the Koryak myths remind one rather of the tales of the Athapascans. Thus we find a similarity of form between some of the Athapascan legends recorded by E. Petitot[1] and those of the Koryak.

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 3.

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Some of the Athapascan traditions recorded by Chapman[1] and Boas[2] show the same characteristic traits. Some of the tales of Dr. Boas's collection particularly recall the Koryak myths; for example, the traditions of Cloud-Woman and of the cannibals (xūdēlɛ').[3]

Judging from the contents of their myths, the Koryak world is quite narrow: the wanderings of the heroes are limited in space and time, and their adventures are simple. It goes without saying that they cannot be compared with the heroes of the Mongol-Turk tales, who fly over a number of worlds on their iron steeds,[4] and whose wanderings and battles last for several generations. They are inferior even to the wanderers of the myths of the American coast of the Pacific, who usually visit various places, have many encounters and adventures, and travel for a considerable time. The wanderings of Big-Raven and his children take place within the limits of a narrow horizon. From the seashore he goes to the Reindeer people, into the open tundra, up the river, or to some island. The hero seldom goes to the other side of the sea. The journey to the heavenly village, or the descent into the lower world, takes place very quickly, as if the sky were not far from the earth. The sojourn there of the travellers is not permanent. Only in one tale[5] we find that Eme'mqut, who became separated from the reindeer-train which was lifting Big-Raven up to heaven, had time to grow up on earth from a boy to a young man, and to marry, before Big-Raven came down to earth again.

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The social organization of the Koryak also exercises a certain influence on the contents of their myths; and we find in them many of the American episodes changed, and adapted to the Koryak understanding of family and social relations. True, Big-Raven, like the totem representatives of the Indians, appears as the common ancestor of the Koryak as a tribe, and in the whale festival we have the germ of a communal organization; but the ideas connected with the secret societies of tribes, such as the Kwakiutl, with chieftaincy, like that of most Indian tribes, and clans, are foreign to the Koryak. The highest social unit of the Koryak is a large family, whose members are connected by ties of consanguinity and by hereditary guardians and amulets. The guardians protecting one family are dangerous to families hostile to it. Thus the guardians prevent one family from entering into too close relations with other families. Marriages between the families, however, destroy this exclusiveness, make friends of their guardians, and, such a union once established, it is endeavored to strengthen it by new marriages. Such relations between families find their

[1] Chapman, Athapascan Traditions from the Lower Yukon (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-185). 1903.

[2] F. Boas, Traditions of the Tsets'a'ut (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. IX, pp. 257-268; Vol. X, pp. 35-48). 1896, 1897.

[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 265; Vol. X, p. 44.

[4] In one Yakut tale the hero flies over thirty heavens; and that of an Altai tale, over three hundred heavens (Potanin, IV, p. 564).

[5] Tale 95, p. 280.

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reflection in the tales. A young man who marries into a strange family usually brings along his wife's brother, who marries his sister. Families thus connected by marriage ties come to visit each other. Big-Raven also goes to visit the upper world, owing to matrimonial unions between his children and the heavenly dwellers.

The list on pp. 363-382 shows which of the elements of the Koryak myths have analogous episodes in other cycles of myths. In comparing the elements of various cycles, I have taken into consideration, not only complete tales, but separate episodes from tales as well. In the myths of one and the same tribe we often find either a welding of two or more independent stories into one tale, or a disintegration of a tale into its constituent parts. Frequently one and the same episode is ascribed, now to one, now to another hero. These changes are due either to the individual peculiarities of the narrator or to the historical development of folk-lore, producing new variants, and adding new material.

We may expect changes of this kind, but on a larger scale, in cases where one tribe borrows its myths from another unrelated tribe, or where one branch of a people breaks away, and so moves far away from the common habitat. In the first case, the tribe adapts the new myths to its own conceptions concerning phenomena and events; in the second case, the branch that splits off changes its myths in consequence of the influence of its contact with new conditions of life and new neighbors.

Leaving open for the time being the question as to the former relations between the Koryak and the aborigines of North America, we must say that we have in the Koryak myths quite a number of episodes constituting only fragments of the whole mass of episodes contained in Indian and Eskimo tales. For instance, of the highly elaborated tale of the Tlingit and Tsimshian, — in which it is related how the sun is set free by the Raven, who has turned himself into a leaf or the needle of a cedar, and, letting himself be swallowed by the daughter of the owner of the sun, is born anew by her in the shape of a child, and then steals the sun, which is kept concealed in a box, — we find modified episodes among the Koryak. They tell that Raven-Man steals the sun in revenge for his unsuccessful wooing of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and hides it in his mouth until Big-Raven's daughter tickles him, so that he opens his mouth, and thus sets the sun free.[1] The episode of another tale[2] about Big-Raven's daughter giving birth to a child in consequence of having eaten a piece of reindeer-marrow into which Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta) had transformed himself, is apparently adapted from the episode with the leaf or cedar-tree needle, altered to suit the conditions of life of reindeer-breeders.

The Eskimo-Indian tales about the children of the woman and a dog, who take off their dog-skins in their mother's absence, and assume a human

[1] Tale 82, p. 250. [2] Tale 111, p. 299.

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538 appearance, are in the Koryak tales divided into two separate episodes, —
773 into tales about Big-Raven's daughter marrying a dog;[1] and those about dogs,
174 which, in the absence of their masters (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered coats, and beat the drum.[2]

In a common episode from the Indian cycle of tales about the Mink, it is told that a hero ascends to heaven by means of a chain of arrows. In the Koryak tales, this chain is reduced to one arrow sent up to heaven, which thus makes a road leading upward. The place of the American mink, which does not occur in northeastern Asia, is apparently filled in the Koryak tales by the ermine.

In place of the Eskimo and Indian tales about the lover who goes at night to a certain girl, who makes a mark on the visitor, and thus discovers in the morning that he is her brother, we have tales about Eme'mqut marrying his sister. It should be remarked that in the former as well as in the latter tales, the brother figures as the cause of the incest, and the sister considers it a disgrace. But in one Chukchee tale[3] it is the sister who induces her brother, in a fraudulent manner, to enter into a culpable union with her, just as in the Greek myth about Hippolytus and his step-mother Phædra.

The episode about the daughter hidden in a bead, who remains upon the body of her dead mother,[4] recalls the Indian tale about a dead woman giving birth to a live child.[5]

171 Summary of Comparisons. — A concordance of episodes of Koryak myths
174 is given on pp. 363-382. From this it appears, that, out of 122 episodes,
773 there occur in

(1) Old-World mythology	8
(2) Eskimo "	12
(3) Indian "	75
(4) Indian and Eskimo mythology	10
(5) Indian and Old-World mythology	9
(6) Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World mythology	8
(7) Eskimo and Old-World mythology	0
	122

In summing up the elements of the Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World myths, we have

122 Indian	episodes, or	84	per cent.
30 Eskimo	" "	24	"
25 Old-World	" "	20	"

It is very interesting to note that we have no episodes common to the Old-World and the Eskimo only, and we conclude that the elements of Old-World myths found in the Eskimo mythology reached the Eskimo through the medium of the Indian or Chukchee.

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[1] Tale 33, p. 183.
[2] Tale 81, p. 248.
[3] Tale 2, p. 127.
[4] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 172.
[5] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 65, 170, 272, 290.

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If we assume that the mythology of the Koryak has borrowed certain elements from the Mongol-Turk, we must admit that the similarity between some American and Asiatic episodes is also due to borrowing. For this reason it is necessary that the comparative study of Asiatic and American myths be continued, in order to make clear the ways and means by which the borrowing took place.

I have not introduced into our comparative list of legendary elements any episodes from the myths of the Alaskan Eskimo, published by Nelson,[1] because the Indians have exerted a very strong influence on the folk-lore of the Alaskan Eskimo, and a large part of the episodes of the latter cannot be considered as genuine Eskimo elements. To have included these elements would have caused confusion.

Eskimo influence on Koryak culture is not easily explained. If we had to do merely with a certain number of common mythical episodes, it would be plausible to assume that the Eskimo reached Bering Sea rather recently, coming from the East, — that is, broke the chain of myths spread in a continuous line along the Asiatic and American coasts of the northern part of the Pacific, — and that thus the Eskimo myths reached the Koryak through Chukchee channels; but the Eskimo elements in the religious rites, and, as we shall see later on, in the material culture, of the Koryak, point, I believe, to direct intercourse of the Koryak with the Eskimo at some period. The attempt to explain the cultural similarity of the two peoples as the result of similar conditions of life would be utterly inadequate, in view of their geographical proximity; but when, and under what circumstances, the contact between the Koryak and the Eskimo took place, remains thus far an open question.

Whatever the solution of this question may be, there is no doubt that the Eskimo appeared on the American-Asiatic coasts of Bering Sea as an entering wedge, which split apart the trunk of the common mythological tree. Neither the present isolation of the Koryak from the Indians, nor the influence of Asiatic culture on their customs and social life, has been able to efface from their myths the characteristic spirit and style of the traditions of the American Pacific coast. This is amply proved by the list of episodes contained in our list. It should be stated that most of the episodes cited are repeated in the myths in different combinations; nevertheless, I am far from having exhausted all the episodes of the tales. In the time at my disposal for this investigation, I have been able to make use of a small part only of the comparative material from mythological literature. No doubt the list of similar episodes and of complex episodes could be considerably increased by the use of more extended material. This would result, of course, in adding to the list of Eskimo and Asiatic points of similarity; but the percentile proportion between the different groups of episodes would probably increase in favor of the Indian myths. It

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 7.

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171 may be stated with certainty that the myths of the Asiatic-American coasts
174 of the North Pacific Ocean (not going here into details as to the peculiarities of
the different cycles of myths of North America) possess a homogeneous cycle
773 of ideas. Besides, the Koryak myths, both by their general character and by their form, resemble most closely the northern Indian cycles, — the raven cycle of the Tlingit of the Pacific coast, and the myths of the Athapascan; that is, the groups of myths of those tribes whose territory lies next to that of the Alaskan Eskimo, who have evidently separated the Indian tribes from the so-called Palæasiatics, and in their turn adopted a considerable part of the ideas of the raven cycle.

As to the number of Indian episodes in the Koryak mythology, we see from the comparative list that

73	episodes	belong	to the	myths of the Tlingit (coast of Alaska) and of the northern coast of British Columbia.
65	"	"	"	coast of southern British Columbia.
35	"	"	"	Athapascan tribes.
27	"	"	"	coast of Washington.
16	"	"	"	Algonquin.
13	"	"	"	Micmac, Ponca, Navajo, and other Indian mythologies.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from the similarity of ideas of Koryak and Indian folk-lore as to the relations between these tribes at a time remote from ours?

We can hardly ascribe this similarity, in accordance with the theory of Andrew Lang, to the uniform workings of the human mind. There is no ground, in this case, for holding to this theory; for how can it be explained that the imagination of the Koryak has created a mass of American, and not Asiatic or European topics, and topics which have retained in a great many cases entirely fortuitous details? Moreover, the geographical proximity of these tribes does away with the plausibility of such an hypothesis.

Two possible explanations may be advanced in the present case, — (1) the similarity of the folk-lore is the result of a common origin of the tribes themselves; or (2) the myths alone have a common origin, and one of the tribes has borrowed its ideas from the other. However, in both cases, the two tribes must have been at some time in close contact.

(142) The somatological material collected by the Expedition has not been worked up as yet, and it is therefore impossible to say at present what conclusions may be drawn from it with reference to the origin of the tribes of the two coasts of the Pacific Ocean. However, the folk-lore which has been investigated justifies us in saying that the Koryak of Asia and the North American Indians, though at present separated from each other by an enormous stretch of sea, had at a more or less remote period a continuous and close intercourse, and exchange of ideas.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the elements common to the New World and the Old. I have tried to point out in the list given on pp. 363-382 the common elements. Under the group of episodes from the Old World are included, not alone the Mongol-Turk elements from the sources which I had at hand in working up my material, but also the legendary episodes (as far as I am familiar with them) which are known the world over. This is shown by pp. 363, 367-371 of the list. At the same time we must distinguish the Asiatic episodes, whose presence in Koryak or American folk-lore may be ascribed to borrowing from Asia, from such episodes as appear to be, in all probability, the result of independent development of the elementary forms of the human imagination. Of Asiatic origin are those episodes of the Koryak myths which contain mention of iron objects (the use of metals having been introduced from the West or South), or the story of Bear's-Ear, in which we meet with episodes having all the incidents and details found in Mongol and other Old-World stories. On the other hand, episodes that tell of talking animals (dogs, deer, or horses) which assist the heroes; stories of cannibals; of sexual unions of heroes with animals, or of their transformation into animals; of miraculous births; of the uncouth, dirty child which became a handsome youth, — may in their elementary ideas be the products of spontaneous development of the imagination in different places. These elementary ideas become characteristic of this or that cycle of myths only through the particular forms which they assume. For instance, Eme'mqut[1] is ugly because he is incased in a hideous skin cover; or the Sun's daughter is ugly,[2] being incased in a mouldy skin. When the outer cover splits open, Eme'mqut and the Sun's daughter come out beautiful and radiant. This detail is quite true to the spirit of the Koryak ideas of the outward form of objects concealing their human-like essence. On the other hand, if we compare the story of the birth of Geser, the divine hero of the Mongol-Turk poem, with the miraculous birth of the heroes of the raven cycle, we see that in this case it is not the elementary idea, but the details, which mark the episode as part of the one folk-lore or of the other. Geser descends from heaven to be born on earth, and enters the womb of a woman; while the Raven turns into objects that are edible or easily swallowed. From this point of view, a part of the episodes of the Pacific, considered before as similar to the episodes of the Old World, might also be classed with the original episodes characteristic of the Pacific cycle of myths exclusively.

To bring out this point more clearly, I will mention another interesting example. According to the underlying elementary idea, we may compare the beings, half men and half dog, described in the myths of the Eskimo, Indian, Koryak,[3] and Yukaghir, with the beings, half men and half deer, of the Tungus, Chukchee, and Yukaghir; with the centaurs, or beings, half men and half

[1] See p. 282. [2] See p. 148. [3] See p. 191.

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horses, of the Thessalian tribe; and with the being, half man and half ass, called "Kitovras" (Китоврасъ), in the Slav myths. In all of these creations of imagination there appears the same fundamental idea of combining the faculties of man and animal in one mythical being, whose powers are the combined powers of man and animal. This being may be, for instance, a good shot, and at the same time fleet of foot. It seems likely that, for this reason, these complex beings have the upper parts of their bodies human and the lower parts like those of animals.[1] In one Yukaghir tale recorded by me on the Jesup Expedition, the son of a man who cohabited with a bitch was half dog. His upper half was human. When he grew up, he became a remarkable hunter. No animal could escape him. His sight was keen, his arrows never missed their aim, and he was so fleet of foot that he could catch up with any animal. He was, however, troubled by a lack of co-ordination between his canine qualities and his human faculties. The dog's feet ran independently, and the human half frequently had to call to the feet to moderate their pace. Therein lay his peril. Once his dog-feet ran in the woods so fast that he was unable to stop them in time; and he ran into a sharp branch of a tree, which caused his death.

It may be fully granted that the fundamental idea of such combined beings could originate quite independently in different parts of the world; and episodes like the tales of men-dogs may thus be considered as original elements of the Pacific cycle of myths, and not as borrowed from the Old World.

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In concluding my review of the Koryak folk-lore, I deem it necessary to state, that I regard the identity of the Koryak folk-lore with that of North America as established. I look upon the comparative part of my review, however, as merely a weak attempt in this field. An insufficient acquaintance on my part with many works on the folk-lore of other tribes, and lack of time to make use of the largest possible number of sources relating to myths of the New and Old Worlds, have made it impossible for me to furnish a more substantial basis for the comparative part of my work.

I hope to continue the comparative study of American and Asiatic mythologies in working up the Yukaghir mythological material.

[1] It is interesting to note that in one of Boas's Athapascan tales (Traditions of the Ts'ets'a'ut, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. X, 1897, p. 44) cannibals are pictured with "faces which look almost like those of a dog." In this case, the dog-face is ascribed to the cannibal, because he has a keen sense of smell, like a dog, — a faculty which he requires in order to scent human beings. In the stories of all nations we find the stereotyped expression of cannibals, "I smell a man or human flesh." (See pp. 134, 303.)

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Preparations for burning a corpse.

756 787 553 pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring kil'vey—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

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The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

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The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.

The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

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The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most

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of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters.

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynayaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'").

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish.

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few.

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator.

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women.

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins.

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco-boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares,